1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

 421

dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if 596
there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property.

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according 592
to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the [562]
chia chang usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife.

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common 596
for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*.

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal 596
families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely 594
biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

596 618 769 353 778 [562] performed in either the private or main *kung t'ing* by the smaller group. Usually, it is the women who have married into and become part of the *tsu* who perform most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in Hsin Hsing and other villages of the area. M. Freedman (1958:85) also notes that "The rites performed in the [ancestral] halls [of the *tsu*] were conducted by and in the presence of men; their daughters and wives played no direct part in the proceedings. In the home, in contrast, it is clear that, whatever the theoretical inferiority of women in the sphere of ancestor worship, they occupied a central position in its performance."

596 618 769 353 778 562 Since there are no ancestral halls in Hsin Hsing village or in the local area, this was the case. Worship of ancestors takes place exclusively in the *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* or family. Ancestor worship performed in a hall or in the *tsu kung t'ing* on certain few occasions would be public, a formal observance for all to witness and theoretically conducted by men. But more often in the Hsin Hsing area women conduct it. Ancestor worship, as it generally takes place, is on a small scale, is private, and tends to be rather informal. As a result, the women, in the presence of their children, usually take the main part in carrying out ancestor worship. As some of the villagers noted, "The men are busy, and the women are more religious anyway."

596 796 182 It is partially the unity of the religious family organization, which continues even after the legal economic division of a larger family, that gives the several newly independent *chia* a definite basis for cooperation and a sense of common identity. Of this Freedman (1958:23) has noted that the

> newly separated households were at least potentially members of one ancestor-worshipping unit in relation to recent forebears, and some forms of *ad hoc* economic co-operation might be instituted between them. In other words, while the formal division of house and land, which was a ritually established rupture at one point in time, created legally independent households, the relations between these households might diminish gradually in time rather than undergo a sharp transformation from involvement to indifference.

[178] [423]

596 182 581 597 769 Although a joint family may not continue for many generations as a single unit, it derives continuity from the maintenance of the religious family, with its function of ancestor worship. To ensure such continuity, marriage and adoption are a primary and conscious concern. In addition to providing the family with the necessary descendants to worship the ancestors, the institutions of marriage and adoption ensure the security of the family through growth and expansion. For the parents these institutions mean security and care in old age as well as in the afterlife. "One's future is in one's children" is a common saying which has had much meaning in traditional China and which is still no less important in the changing Taiwanese village. Besides these

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing to the circumstances of the particular case. The woman's economic circumstances and her age are the basic determinants of whether or not she will remarry and whether or not her marriage will be accepted or criticized. A young divorcee or widow who has very young children or none can do little but remarry unless she is wealthy. A second marriage for her is generally acceptable. The woman with young children must have someone to support her and her children until they are old enough to contribute financially to the family. It is also felt that a young childless woman, and even a childless rich widow, should remarry, if for no other reason than to bear children who can later care for her and worship her after her death.

A woman wealthy enough to support herself and her children, or over thirty-five with older children who can or soon will be able to work is not considered honorable if she remarries. Since there is no pressing economic reason for her to marry again, if she manages to find a husband—and this is certainly difficult—she will be generally criticized. People usually assume that her only reason for remarrying was to fulfill her sexual passions, and they joke and laughingly speculate about her sex life. Therefore, such a woman does not usually remarry.

In the infrequent cases in the rural area today when a man and woman are divorced—often because the man has found himself another wife in Taipei—the woman will probably return to her native home if they will have her. An alternative solution is for her to go to the city or town to work and earn her own living, which is an innovation for women. If she returns to her native home, as happened in the one recent divorce case in Hsin Hsing, her family will probably attempt to arrange for her to remarry as soon as possible in order to rectify such an unnatural family situation. If a divorcee has children by her first marriage, any male children would almost automatically remain with their father or at least with his family. The divorcee from Hsin Hsing had one young daughter and was considered by everyone to be blameless in the divorce. She had been advised by the police—who had helped work out the terms of the divorce and make the final settlement [11]—that she would be better off if she made her husband keep the little girl, since otherwise the child's presence would make it that much more difficult for her to start a new life either working or finding a new husband. In a sense, then, it was considered that she had won the divorce, since her husband had to take their little girl. The woman, of course, took back all the furniture and other items of her dowry which she had brought into the marriage.

Since the Hsin Hsing villagers realized that she was not at fault, although she was much talked about, she was not criticized. Nevertheless, even though she was still only in her middle twenties, she was now very limited in her choice of a marriage partner. The only men who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

628 612 invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's 796 *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* fur- 574 nishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In [621] any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a 574 son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a 612 wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the 604 groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The [171] importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a 574 visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller 593 and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a [606] large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take [612] turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to 593 her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time 612 talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occa- 612 sions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they 574 happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores. 883

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. [431] When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. [764] Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town.

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income. 883 562 868

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The 554 562 883 874 [873]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

other girl was not interested in continuing her education after graduation from primary school and so first attended a sewing school in the area, then went to work in Taipei under the guidance of a relative, and was finally called home where she began to make clothes for pay. Since this girl's family did not need the income from her work, she did not take the work seriously and spent much time amusing herself in the village and in Lukang where her older married sister lived. Although the girl's father was extremely strict with his sons, even with one who was married and himself a father, this daughter was allowed a great amount of freedom.

The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in weeding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

For purposes of communication and training it is important that the soldier have some fluency in Kuo-Yu. However, there are many boys in the rural area who either never went to school or who did not

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

affairs, the cause of their troubles is often laid to a relative who left no descendants to care for his spirit. It then becomes necessary for the family to placate the spirit by adopting a child as his official descendant and worshipper. All such adoptions are eventually recorded on the ancestral tablet. The name of the adopted child is engraved next to the name of the deceased, along with a note stating that he was adopted for the purpose of continuing the line (*ch'eng szu*).

Buddhism

In the Hsin Hsing village area, Buddhism, at least as an independent religious system, is of negligible importance. While there are visible elements of Buddhism such as the scroll bearing the image of the goddess Kuan Yin, it is difficult to distinguish features of Buddhist ritual from Taoist features. Women take the most active part in all forms of Buddhist worship, and once each year they worship at scattered temples located in the *hsien*. In spite of the mixture of religious images in Buddhist temples, the Buddhist rites are distinctly identified as such.

Popular Taoism

Of the various religious practices discussed thus far, popular Taoism may be said to occupy the most time and attention of the Hsin Hsing villagers. Popular Taoism is a debased derivative of Lao-tze's "Way" and centers around a hierarchy of gods infiltrated by many diverse supernatural beings or forces. Belief in these supernatural entities is derived from the Yin-Yang principle, the concept of the universe as the sum of the infinity of all the positive and negative forces that comprise it. In popular Taoism, the positive and negative forces have become personified; thus, it is not only necessary to have priests (*tao shih*) but shamans (*fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*) too are needed to conduct religious ceremonies to worship the gods and to perform magical rites to propitiate the evil supernatural beings who might otherwise harm the believers.

The hierarchy of gods in popular Taoism is ranked in order from the highest T'ien Kung, the heavenly God (also referred to by the villagers as Yu Ti, the Jade Emperor), down through others of lesser importance, to an assortment of village gods and private, individual gods at the bottom of the hierarchy. Many are historic personages of the early dynasties, particularly the Sung and T'ang, who have been deified for their remarkable deeds. Their feats are well known, although the stories of some apparently have mythical backgrounds.

The villagers consider the hierarchy of gods to be fashioned on the order of the imperial court of traditional China. They are thus, as described by one of the better educated older villagers, "what would

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

trict police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

2: Wolf AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

• 562

[For sex status, primarly that of females in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 76, 98, 99, 117, 123-162, and 193-268.

husband's family, but this is even less feasible. The simple fact of the matter is that there is no place for a married woman to go. She cannot support herself except by becoming a prostitute, and it is unlikely that her natal family will welcome her home. They may give her a place temporarily if she has been quarreling with her husband or her mother-in-law, but her brothers will eventually force her to return to her husband's family. They have their own wives and children to support and cannot afford to care for a sister who contributes nothing to the family's welfare. As one woman in Hsiachichou told us when we asked if a married woman could return to her natal home, "Not many women go back to their parent's home. In fact, you can say that no one ever does that. When you can't get along with your husband's family, then you have to think of a way to make your own living. Your parents can't support you all of your life."

The situation is very different when it is the man who marries into his wife's family. With the exception of those few men who change their surnames and become sons of their wife's parents, men who marry matrilocally usually retain some right over such property as their parents may possess. This may be only the right to live in their parent's home, but even this can be important if they cannot manage with their wife's parents. More importantly, even if a man does not have a parental home as a refuge, as is often the case with men who marry matrilocally, a male is at least able to support himself apart from his spouse's family. As a village woman told us, "I don't like girls. It's not good to be a girl. A woman can never earn enough to

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

any construction begins, the family and the geomancer make careful enquiries of priests, the elderly, even the gods, to be sure that the house is not placed on the site of an old temple or shrine. Indignant gods could bring untold misery on the family for generations. When construction is underway, the geomancer supervises the building of the ritually important cooking stove, a large, square, brick structure which is intimately tied to the welfare of the family. If it is clumsily built, or improperly oriented, misfortune or even death may come to family members. The family must also prevent those who bear them ill will from secretly inserting dangerous magical objects in the partially constructed stove. If the carpenters and bricklayers are ill-paid or disrespectfully treated, they too might practice various forms of witchcraft on the stove or on the main roof beam. The welfare of the family in both the present and the future generations is irrevocably involved in the construction of their home.

The original rectangle of a new rural home may vary somewhat in size, floor plan, or interior decoration, but the basic outline is the same for all. In the center of the front wall of each house are double doors which open into the guest hall. In most houses the floor of the guest hall is of beaten earth, the same as the other rooms of the house, but in more affluent homes the hall is distinguished by a concrete floor. The one village home with concrete floors throughout displays a terrazzo floor in the guest hall. This room is the stage on which a family presents itself to the world. Here one often finds a scroll of unexpected quality and such luxuries as a radio or a sewing machine; here also are the material representations of the family's charter, their ancestral tablets. These are flat, rectangular slips of wood, rounded on the top like grave stones, each inscribed in black ink with the posthumous name of a deceased member of the family. In every home these are arranged on a tall, narrow altar table set against the wall opposite the front door. To the foreign eye this altar is a clutter of religious paraphernalia, but there is order here if not neatness. The gods take precedence over the ancestors and their images are thus always to the right of the altar; men take precedence over women and thus the tablets of men are always to the right of those of their wives. Where the tablets are arranged in a small lacquer box, the more recently deceased are at the front of the box; where they are arranged on open shelves, the most distant ancestors stand on the top of the shelf at the head of a pyramid.

Individually, the tables have little significance. They are simply

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Peihotien

Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

moments, but it is their father whose example continues to guide their lives. Their mother was only a woman and died; their father created for the family a reputation and standards that survive in his name. He became a symbol of what the family could and should be, and as a symbol he is still present—as much a reality as he was when alive.

Lim Han-ci's wife was a fortunate woman in one respect. The first child she bore her husband was a son, Lim Hue-lieng. A bride comes to her new home as a complete stranger, both to the family and to her husband. For the first year or two she has the duties of, and little more status than, a servant. She is expected to release her mother-in-law from the drudgery of cleaning and cooking, bring her morning tea, help her dress, and see to her comfort in every way. In the days of Lim Han-ci, a bride also had the humiliating task of washing her mother-in-law's foot bindings and rewrapping the twisted, deformed feet. She was expected to serve her father-in-law's meals whenever he wished them, with her eyes lowered and her mouth shut. Unless summoned to fill his pipe or perform some other service, she avoided his presence. To her husband, a man whom she had not met until the day of her marriage, she was also subservient. If ill temper prompted him to beat her, she must accept it without complaint. She was expected to provide his meals, keep his clothes in order, and, in the old days, make his and the rest of the family's cloth shoes. Above all, she was expected to provide the family with a son—the means of continuing their line of descent. The life of a bride today is considerably less onerous, but there has been no change in the family's primary requirement of her. Until she produces a son, she has no secure place in the family. Bearing a girl at least gives evidence of her ability to bear children; the birth of a son ends the anxiety in her husband's family and gives her at last an undeniable status in it.

Probably Lim Han-ci's next child was a girl, but for this I must rely on hearsay and my knowledge of other village families. During our first weeks in the village, Lim Chieng-cua spent nearly as much time interviewing us as we did interviewing him. As a result he had a fair knowledge of what Chinese practices were not common in the United States and a cunning instinct for the kinds of things we were not to be told about his own family. He was extremely cooperative in explaining the idiosyncracies of other family genealogies and the disposition of their unwanted children, but in theory the gods had not blessed his family with any unwanted children. His neighbors, how-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ever, were equally cooperative in discussing the Lim family genealogy. By their account, after the birth of Lim Hue-lieng, his mother bore a girl. To Lim Han-ci as well as to his neighbors, raising a girl is a luxury.

As soon as a daughter is old enough to be useful in the house or in the fields, she is also old enough to marry and leave the family (at no small expense to her parents) to give her labor and her sons to another family. The general village attitude is summed up in the words of an old lady who told me why she disposed of her daughters: "Why should I want so many daughters? It is useless to raise your own daughters. I'd just have to give them away when they were grown, so when someone asked for them as infants I gave them away. Think of all the rice I saved."

Faced with a luxury in which he did not want to indulge, Lim Han-ci took the same course. The girl was given to another family as a "little bride," to be raised as a wife for one of their sons. As Lim Han-ci's wife had milk to nurse a child, the family then adopted a girl from a third family to raise as a wife for their own son, Lim Hue-lieng. The family thus ridded themselves of a "useless" daughter and acquired a girl, Lim A-pou, who could marry their son and perpetuate their line of descent. In giving away their own daughter they saved themselves the expense of raising her and providing her dowry; in adopting another child in her place they avoided paying an extravagant bride price for an adult daughter-in-law. Marriages involving a "little bride" do not have the prestige of those that bring a daughter-in-law into the home as a young adult, but they are recognized by local custom throughout northern Taiwan and were common among poor peasant families at the time. Nearly half of the village men of Lim Han-ci's generation married in this fashion. The early and prolonged association of husband and wife often affects their later marital relationship, but this is not considered adequate reason for foregoing the advantages of such a marriage. The desires of the parents and the needs of the family take precedence over the personal interest of the children.

In the ten years between the birth of Lim Hue-lieng and Lim Chieng-cua several unexpected things happened to Lim Han-ci's family. A year or two after the adoption of Lim A-pou another son was born. For one reason or another, probably simply because a suitable child became available, Tan A-hong was adopted at once to be his

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 5

[p.45]

LIM HUE-LIENG: AN ELDEST SON

Lim Hue-lieng entered this world as the first son of his parents and the first grandchild of his grandparents. His birth was thus almost certainly a matter of great joy in the Lim household. His mother's isolation as a daughter-in-law was now at an end: until a woman bears a male child she is only a provisional member of her husband's household, merely a daughter-in-law; with the birth of a son, she becomes the mother of one of its descendants, a position of prestige and respect. The birth of his first son must also have been a moment of significance for Lim Han-ci. A man with a son becomes a link in the long chain of descent. His struggle with the land for enough to eat takes on new meaning: he will one day be the head of a household, the senior representative of the family, no longer an adult child living under the authority of his father. And if the birth of their first male child is a matter of rejoicing for the child's parents, the birth of their first grandchild is even more of an eventful day in the lives of the child's paternal grandparents. The joy of every elderly Chinese is to spend his declining years in the company of his grandchildren, and it is a matter of great pride for a man to know that he has grandsons as well as sons "to see him to the mountains." They are tangible proof that his line of descent will continue, that offerings will always be laid on his ancestral altar, and that the work of his own life will be multiplied in its benefits. More than anything else, they stand as evidence that these people have done their duty to their own parents and grandparents

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

smallest slight by one of his peers, intentional or accidental, demands a disproportionate retaliation. His temper is as violent as that of his father and grandfather, but unlike them his reason does not always return when it cools. He holds grudges far longer than most children his age. Old Lim Han-ci was in his last years when Kim-hok was born and he catered to the child's whims in a way that amazed his son and perplexed his two older grandchildren. With Lim A-pou's two children he had been only a little more lenient than he had with his own children, but when his second son presented him with a grandson he seemed to forget the lessons he had learned—he gave Kim-hok all the grandfatherly indulgence and protection from discipline that had cost him so much with his own eldest son, Lim Hue-lieng. If he had lived a few years longer, perhaps he might have used his influence over the boy to help Chieng-cua redirect his son's explosive nature into more creditable behavior. But, he died too soon, leaving Kim-hok with the imprint of his indulgence but not of his training.

If Chieng-cua were married to a woman with a quiet, gentle personality, such as his mother had, he could by the strength of his own character pass on much of his father's training. Instead he is married to a strong-minded woman who is constantly at war with him. Their children have become her weapons. This is not an uncommon state of affairs in a Chinese household. When a woman enters her husband's house, she comes as a stranger without friends or relatives. She has no status in that family until she bears a son, but even then the comfort of her declining years is not assured unless she can bind that son to her with the ties of gratitude and affection. Chinese society demands of a young man that he care for his aged father—if he does not he is an outcast in his home district and under suspicion everywhere else. The dictum also includes his aged mother, but women matter less in China. The social pressure in her behalf is not as great. To establish her claim, a Chinese mother depends not upon the sanctions of society, but on the ties she herself can create, the ties of emotion buried so deeply in the mind as to be ineradicable. The Taiwanese believe that after a boy reaches six or seven years of age, his father must withdraw and treat him sternly and without affection in order to maintain authority, respect, and obedience. If a woman's relations with her husband are not good, she can make excellent use of her husband's aloofness to increase her children's resentment of him and strengthen their ties to her. Even if she bears her husband no

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

bastards" better than his own children. This was too much. Lim Chieng-cua struck his wife a heavy blow across the mouth. She ran into the courtyard but he followed her, grabbing a heavy scaling pole as he went. Fortunately, A-bok was moving sacks of rice in the yard and pinned his uncle's arms before he could strike her. Instead of leaving, Chui-ieng turned back to attack her tightly-held husband. A-bok had to call Masa to pull Chui-ieng away. She then ran out of the house. The uproar brought the whole family out of the house, and the children were whimpering with fear. Lim Chieng-cua turned from his nephews without a word and disappeared into his bedroom. A-bok's young son, more curious than frightened, demanded of his father in a loud, clear voice, "Why were you fighting with Uncle?" Although his father insisted gruffly and repeatedly that they had not been fighting, his mother, characteristically, began to giggle. A-bok shouted at her to get back to work, and the others returned to the house. Tan Chun-ieng was home that evening and it was she who took over the care of Lim Chui-ieng's children, seeing to their baths and getting them into bed. Lim A-pou and her daughter-in-law, the latter probably under strict orders since basically she is a kind girl, completely ignored the frightened and tearful children. The youngest wandered around the house pathetically asking anyone who would listen, "Was Momma getting a spanking? Have you seen my Momma?" It was not the feared father who had abandoned them, but their beloved mother. Long after the house was usually quiet, I heard sobs coming from the children's sleeping room.

Lim Chui-ieng went to the only refuge she had in the village, the home of Ng Kui-lian, the go-between for her marriage. There she borrowed enough money to get her to relatives and left the village at once. A little over an hour after the quarrel, I heard the clump, clump of old Ng Kui-lian's cane aggressively announcing her progress through the house. Her status as the original go-between gave her the right and indeed the obligation to act as peace-maker in the present crisis. Her status as an old lady gave her the right to speak her mind to both parties. After soundly scolding Lim Chieng-cua for interrupting her late afternoon nap, she demanded full details of the quarrel. He spoke frankly and her comments were equally frank. They talked for the better part of an hour before the old woman was satisfied that both had been, as she suspected all along, in the wrong. With that she left, intending to put things back together the following day.

Much to my surprise, Lim Chui-ieng returned to the house the

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND APPROACH

Overview of the Theoretical Problem

121 In a field study, I found that the actual role of
• 562 women in contemporary rural Taiwanese society was significantly different from my expectations which were based on an analysis of the traditional literature.[1] In brief, the structural position of women was not inferior to the position of men to the degree expected. Although part of the differences between the observed and predicted patterns was due to socio-cultural change and regional variation, a significant portion is due to errors in abstraction by former reporters. The theoretical problem for this study is the delineation of the inconsistencies and an explanation of the reasons for the errors.

121 One of the foundations of the anthropological approach to research is involvement in a culture foreign to that of the investigator. This requirement is based on the belief that a minimum level of dissimilarity is necessary for both objectivity and awareness. That is, it is necessary that behavior be sufficiently different from that normally encountered by the investigator so that

121 Finally, implications for anthropological research in great civilizations will be considered.

Discovery and Evolution of the Specific Problem

Before going to the field, I had no plan to focus on the role of women. I intended a standard descriptive ethnography with problem interests in culture change and the computer simulation of decision-making behavior. Since the specific concern with female roles appears to represent a radical change, I shall briefly discuss the development of my interest.

122 My preparations for field work were typical for anthropology students of Chinese society. They included an appropriate mastery of anthropological theory and methods plus a good background in anthropological sources pertaining to China. Additionally, I gained a basic familiarity with materials on China from other disciplines such as history, philosophy, literature, religion, and art. Although I attempted to approach the field in an open-minded manner, I had internalized a set of expectancies for behavior against which my observations could be compared. The observed behavior of women deviated most strikingly from what I expected.

121 The status of women in China is traditionally presented as structurally inferior to the status of men. The differences in status are not minor. In order to strengthen the case for the lowly position of women in China,

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

several sources (Lang, 1946:42; Bloodworth, 1966:71) echo the words of the third century B.C. poet Fu Husan (Waley, 1941:72), "How sad it is to be a woman! Nothing on earth is held so cheap." Parsons argues that female subordination is an adaptive structure, necessary for maintaining continuity in Chinese society (1951:196). In one of the most complete accounts of the position of women, based both on interviews and a thorough review of the literature, Olga Lang concludes "man's supremacy in society and family became complete" (1946:42). She further describes the expected virtues of women as "obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability" (1946:43). Fairbank adds that women were dominated by men and greatly inferior. A behavior pattern of obedience and passivity was expected of women. He further claims that although there were forceful women, they controlled by indirection, not by fiat (1948:28-42). Although greater detail is provided in the last chapter of my account, the sources are in overwhelming agreement with this brief description.

My early observations of female behavior were not consistent with impressions deriving from this literature. The first few weeks in Taiwan were devoted to locating a research site, advanced language training, acquiring and furnishing a house, and hiring and training assistants and an amah. We traveled in the big cities of Taipei and Taichung, their suburban towns, and the surrounding countryside. We often found women to be domineering and verbally

121 abusive or authoritarian in their relations with men. It
562 is nearly impossible to spend more than five minutes in a busy market without hearing a woman arguing with a man and even berating him loudly. My wife was taught certain curses, to be addressed only to males such as a salesman or taxi driver. If the curses would not make a taxi driver operate his vehicle at a slower rate, she was told to hit him. We observed women hitting men with their umbrellas on at least five occasions although in only two of these cases did we collect data other than the observation. In one, a woman hit her husband because he had spent too much money drinking in the afternoon, apparently a frequent occurrence. In the other, a woman hit a pedicab driver whom she had not seen prior to that day in a dispute over a fare. When asked if she feared physical retaliation, she said that men seldom returned women's blows.

As we established intimate friendships in the cities and became intensively involved in the villages we studied, we continued to find that the behavior of women was consistent with our initial observations rather than the literature. For example, women were the most outspoken--men seldom raised their voices or verbally abused women; women frequently screamed at men, relatives and strangers alike. In the homes, women often controlled the family budget. I never saw a woman locked out of her

121 house overnight for misbehavior but on five occasions in
562 the village during our residence, men slept all night on the ground because their wives had locked them out after they had come home too late or had spent too much money at a drinking party. One cold wet night I wanted to let a locked-out man sleep on my kitchen floor. My assistant, an educated Taiwanese, argued that it would not be best because the wife would get very angry and make trouble for us in the village. Our discussion was academic for the man was too afraid not to stay out. He said that his wife wanted him to stay out; he had done wrong, and if he came into our house for the night, his wife would not be satisfied and would only cause him more trouble.

[439] Almost everyone agreed that women could bargain
[494] better than men and obtain lower prices. For example, the
[435] fare from town to my village was $24.00 to $26.00 on the taxi meter. It was extremely easy to negotiate a flat price of $20.00 and men who bargained hard could lower this to $18.00. However, women could get the price down to $16.00. No man could get the price this low and if a man began to get into a cab after a woman had negotiated a $16.00 price, the driver would refuse to transport him. Most village men attributed their family's ability to save to the dominance and thriftiness of women.

The longer we stayed in the village, the greater the accumulation of data which supported the discrepancy

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 between observed and expected female behavior. After my
562 return to Michigan State University, I carefully reviewed the traditional literature in the light of this apparent discovery. There were many clues suggesting that the previous case had been overstated. There were a few examples of others who had already made the identical discovery, the earliest in the report of Yosaburo Takekoshi which was based on an extensive tour of Taiwan early in the period of the Japanese occupation. He illustrates this contrast between preparation and observation suggested previously in a single sentence:

> I had heard that the women of China were grevously [sic] oppressed, and I expected to find it the same in Formosa, but, after carefully investigating the facts, I have come to the conclusion that Formosan women enjoy more freedom in many respects than is allowed to their sisters in China (1907:310).

121 My discussion and interpretation of female behavior
183 are disturbing to some educated Chinese for they too are
562 enculturated in terms of their own "Great Tradition." Chinese friends who have read some of the following chapters argue that too much emphasis has been placed on the exceptions instead of on the actual traditional patterns. At a party one night, nine Chinese student friends stated that men usually controlled all the money in a Chinese household. However, in answer to my direct question about their own households, only two stated that their fathers controlled the money and the other seven, their mothers.

121 After a few minutes of discussion, eight of the nine stu-
183 dents agreed that the fathers were proper and standard and
• 562 the seven female examples in their respective homes were all exceptions. One student felt he needed further data. The facts in the example support my argument; the students' beliefs do not. The contrast between the facts and beliefs suggests the strong influence of the "Great Tradition" on individual members of a society. The nine students were actually surprised by the extent of female influence in their collective homes. Those in homes where mother was in control were somewhat surprised to find so many others in like positions. A. P. Wolf reports a similar kind of discrepancy between the "case enumeration summary" and the "villager's general summary" with regard to the frequency of marriage types in a Taiwanese village (1968).

121 A mechanism for the causes of incomplete observations and conclusions has been suggested, the previous internalization of a "Great Tradition." Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957) helps explain the persistence of the belief in the face of contrary evidence. Cognitive dissonance theory states that when we obtain information which is inconsistent with our current beliefs, we are in a conflict situation. The conflict may be resolved by "denying" the new information or by changing the belief (Heiss, 1968:10). The examples previously listed

56 live with his bride in the village. Another young couple,
466 working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when
their child was eighteen months old because the boy's
[582] father became ill and required help with farming. Since
it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the
military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning
home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls.
Because few married girls continue working in the factory
after marriage or after the first child is born at the
latest, the age when they return to the village helps ex-
plain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while
the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

162 The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village
than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations
Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is
partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four
residents were males only and also to the greater shortage
of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed
above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were
living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is
significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found
by Gallin for his village on the west central plain
162 (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory
369 work in Sanlei and moreover, it is possible for men to
562 continue living in the village while working in the city.
Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations
(room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

Languages

191 Sanlei is a multi-lingual community. No one lang-
197 uage is sufficient to communicate with everyone although Taiwanese (min-nan hua) comes very close. All village children speak Taiwanese most of the time. In casual conversations, in village affairs, and in religious observances the utilization of Taiwanese is usual. Use of another language is restricted to "special occasions" such as dealing with government officials, but even here, if villager and official are both Taiwanese, employment of Taiwanese is likely. We started with Mandarin but as we learned a little Taiwanese, our efforts in Taiwanese were greatly applauded.

197 Mandarin is the official language in the schools.
872 Since attendance is compulsory, almost all children are exposed to six years of language training. Several Mainlander teachers in the school refuse to speak Taiwanese at any time and a few know no more than a few polite phrases and do not care to learn any more. Many village women are unable to converse at all with their childrens' teachers. In the li school, only the first grade teacher permits use of any Taiwanese in class.

191 Several of the older men, especially the more in-
192 fluential ones, but no older women, have learned Mandarin
[562] in order to deal with the government and conduct business. Much of the acquired facility in Mandarin will be lost

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

[562]

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uniform is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

561 [855] [514]

291 traditional high-necked slit-side dress) of dark coarse
561 material for work. Younger women do have chi pao of fine
[292] material which they wear for important affairs. However, in the recent period, a chi pao is usually first acquired
[177] for an engagement or wedding. Younger girls usually wear
893 Western-style outfits for trips to town. Women usually carry umbrellas to protect against rain and sun alike.
291 At night, women too wear pajamas but less often than men
[513] wear them out on the street in the evening. Footwear is
[177] not unlike that for men except that young women more often wear Western-style cheap shoes. Women also are more likely to wear traditional cloth slippers in the home.

302 Special identifying haircuts are required of stu-
305 dents. Men go to the barber about once every two weeks and usually have a shampoo and a shave as well as a haircut. Women in Sanlei very seldom go to a beauty shop although there is a beautician in the Erhlei barber shop.
302 Young women wear makeup now for trips to town although teased by villagers, "You look like a prostititue" (see
593 Glossary C). Parents attempt to control their daughter's dress and behavior but do not have much success. The girls are now earning money and are economic assets. If they are treated too harshly, they can easily move to the city or to a factory dormitory.

296 Clothing in the village is worn until it falls apart. There are many patches and even patches on patches.

eight years. Although farmers have been relatively willing to accept the recommendations of agricultural experts, the government agents and farmers' association officials concerned with sanitation have had more success with women than men. Male and female agents in the farmers' association in Hsin Tien both agree that unless the woman is persuaded, few changes will be made in the kitchen. The officials and villagers alike claimed that no matter what a man said, a woman ran the kitchen as she pleased. Most food is eaten the day it is acquired and pork especially, is never kept overnight. This custom requires daily marketing.

Colds and flu are very common in winter. Almost everyone has periodic intestinal disorders and skin infections are endemic. Foot and hand infections are occasionally very severe. Working in the paddy fields with their load of human excreta in solution is particularly dangerous with open cuts. Injuries such as broken bones are most common among children and men who work in the local coal mines.

Treatment of disease and injury may involve many distinct techniques. There are a great variety of professional medical practitioners such as Western-style doctors, traditional Chinese doctors, various folk specialties such as acupuncture, different shamans, and temple priests who furnish charms to drink. Most professionals are males but midwives are invariably females.

273 area who drink often. Spirits were never supposed to be
272 consumed without simultaneously eating. The village
273 stores also stock soft drinks but these too tend to be
264 reserved for special occasions. Soft drinks and spirits are provided at all banquets.

262 There were two kinds of days, sharply contrasted in
264 the kinds and quantities of food: regular days and special
524 days. The special days were the religious holidays and special life crises events, i.e., marriage, engagement, funeral, certain birthdays, etc. One set of religious holidays occurred twice each month on the lunar calendar (see Chapter VIII). The other holidays were on regular dates, rarely less than at least one each month. On special days the food was rich, dinner usually including pork, fish, and fowl, whereas the diet previously described was for regular days.

264 On special days, there was a tendency for people to eat dinner together at a table. Often, eating had to be in shifts for few households had more than one table while some families were quite large (see Chapter V). Most of the time, eating is during a single time period but in a haphazard fashion. Each person gets food in the kitchen from the cook and eats at the table or perhaps, out in the
[562] courtyard. Men are supposed to eat first, but it appears
[855] that small children are usually first. While most meals are eaten at home, lunch is occasionally eaten in the

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[884] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

241 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes con-
463 siderable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does
241 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief
463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full
• 562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but
[231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass
[438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin
443 Tien. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 There are more opportunities for females than males
• 562 to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

464 for one of three factories but many girls go off to work
562 in other factories which provide supervised dormitory accommodations including food.

464 At one factory which is within a 45 minute bicycle
466 ride distance, a group of girls from Talei Li work by commuting daily. In the morning, two girls start out from Szulei, pick up two more girls in Sanlei and several in both Erhlei and T'oulei and then go on together in a group of li girls only. The other two factories each send a truck to the village in the morning to pick up a total of five Sanlei girls and bring them home each night.

The other way to work in the clothing factories is to live in factory-provided dormitories. These live-in girls also do not fit the definition of village resident employed in this paper but nevertheless, eleven former Sanlei village girls are living in factory dormitories. On the average, a girl usually commutes for a period of time before moving from the village to a factory dormitory.

464 The availability of factory work has had a signifi-
562 cant impact on the status of females in the village for girls are thereby, direct economic assets. The starting
562 wage of $300.00 per month ($13.00 per day) can be increased
465 with experience to over $1,200.00 per month for a skilled girl in six or seven years, but most experienced girls earn about $800.00 after five years. Young girls can

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

562 882 869 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied may have remained at home because there were few reasonable alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 463 [434] There are other minor sources of income. One village woman has become a seamstress recently in competition with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

for work and some men became coal miners. There has been some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities resulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they were not replaced by the young women who, as previously stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but the other competes. For performing the same task, women usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

562 There is yet a goodly distance between the status
562 of men and the status of women. For example, only men are
276 permitted to smoke, a practice which is enjoyed by almost
all adult males in the village. When a boy is able to
[257] earn a man's wage, he too usually starts to smoke. Women
however, are not supposed to smoke and the two Sanlei
women who do smoke regularly are not from high status
families and both justify smoking in terms of its medici-
nal qualities, i.e., it is said to relieve a tickle in
the nose. Other adults also say the two have to smoke
but the statement is often quite "tongue in cheek" as
when one village woman about age twenty-five said that
when she was forty or so, she was also going to develop
[183] nose trouble and take up smoking. The justification is
another instance of the mechanism of avoiding conflict and
refusing to recognize violations of village norms in order
to promote harmony (see Chapter IV).

857 Small children have considerable play time but soon
[231] assume minor responsibilities. Older children care for
younger children regardless of sex and most children make
some economic contribution to their households through
such tasks as gathering grass for buffalo and pigs. Young
girls help mother and boys help father but it appears that
girls have more responsibilities than boys.

562 Given the differential values listed above regard-
882 ing adult males and adult females, adolescent boys face a

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

592 593 It was not felt to be filial to ask directly for money but rather, one should hint about what is needed with the expectation that the parents would eventually suggest a [562] the item should be purchased. Women were considered to be more perceptive than men at perceiving children's needs but, to maintain the value system which favors males, particularly the sub-role of the male head dispensing largess, it was not at all uncommon for a woman who managed the budget in a household to "sneak" money to her husband so he could give it to a son to purchase trousers or a watch. Everyone was aware of the practice but it was not discussed openly. Young people often said that it was best to let mother know if you wanted something for she was more likely to see the wish granted. Even in a household managed by a very dominant male, women used their superior powers of perceptiveness to inform their husbands indirectly about children's needs.

The figures in Table 4 further suggest that differences in the sex of the manager are related to the 596 household type. An extended family is the highly valued traditional form and is most likely to have a male manager. Extended households also tend to be larger, more traditional, and are almost always economically based on agri- 592 culture. The latter factor probably explains why the ex- 596 tended households have male managers for all three family types, even the nuclear, which are engaged in farming tend

branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is a federal law, applicable at every level of government

562 down to the township, which specifies there must be one
656 woman member for every ten representatives on all delib-
666 erative bodies. This law serves to increase the status of women and results in a consequent higher percentage of female membership in legislative bodies in Taiwan than in the United States.

666 At the county level, economic contributions are
662 important in winning elections. A man does not buy votes directly, but he may offer to contribute a school room or the like if he is elected. Although this is considered by most villagers to be quite honorable, contributions of money to local influentials rather than for public works is considered to be very bad and dishonest by most village leaders. No one in Sanlei is believed to have taken a bribe to influence votes but Sanlei villagers often cite one man in Erhlei and two in T'oulei as dishonest men who have been bribed. Citation of these men may be part of the factional differences in the li to be discussed later. In any case, the suspected Erhlei man is still consulted regularly for his knowledge about affairs outside the village and he continues to influence voting behavior in the li.

665 Hsin Tien Township is broken into two major factions which compete for political power. Talei Li belongs to the "inside the mountain" faction, the smaller and weaker of the two. Although the factions are more

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

666 women. Conversely, women rarely talk politics in front
• 562 of men and almost never promote candidates. After my promise of secrecy, a few women told me of voting the opposite of their husbands. I am sure some village men would be quite surprised to learn that their wives had not automatically voted for the candidates they had selected.

562 The underlying principle governing the above pat-
666 tern of behavior, i.e., refusing to acknowledge a conflict
183 situation or refusing to acknowledge many violations of normative standards, has appeared before in this account of Sanlei Ts'un in such guises as a female's behavior towards her husband's relationship with children in a female-managed household or in the manner in which poor villagers receive aid. It will appear again in many other forms and will be considered in the last chapter as it undoubtedly is a contributing factor to the various misconceptions about women's roles.

Let me illustrate the basis for this factor in another context. My wife once demonstrated that although American husbands and wives do not become more like each other in terms of opinionation and closed-mindedness (Rokeach and Rothman, 1965), the happier the marriage, the less the partners admitted implicitly they were different. That is, a person experienced less conflict when he was able to consciously feel that he and his spouse held

562 identical opinions. In the previous discussion of Sanlei
666 voting behavior, the ability of a man to delude himself
183 into thinking his wife voted as he did is positively related to the domestic harmony which is highly evaluated in the village.

Divisions of Local Government and Politics

621 There are three formal units of government at the local level and one unit which is important but does not fit well into the system. The smallest significant political unit is the lin or neighborhood. In the Sanlei area, each lin contains about 10 or 11 contiguous households.

624 Each lin has a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who is elected on the basis of consensus in Sanlei at an open meeting. He is responsible for communicating directives to the people and aiding the local mayor in carrying out his duties. Because a lin chang may be held responsible for what happens in his lin, there is some reluctance to assume the office. We heard many times that under the Japanese, a village lin chang once spent three days in jail after a bandit was arrested in his lin. Also people say that the office means only work with no corresponding power or money.

632 The next larger formal important political unit is the li which has three officers: the li chang (li head or mayor), the representative who serves on the township council, and the village secretary. The first two are

632 elected by li members and the last is appointed by the head of the township.

The third and highest level in formal local government is the township which also has a mayor as its chief executive officer. Sanlei is part of Talei Li which is part of Hsin Tien Township. There are 21 li in Hsin Tien Township and each is entitled to at least one representative on the township council. Since the li with larger populations are permitted two representatives, the Hsin Tien township council has 27 members, three of whom are [562] women as required by the federal law. In each case, the woman represents one of the li which furnishes two members. The township ranks below the country and carries out such functions as civic improvements, registration, military draft, tax collections, etc.

621 The three levels described above ignore a fundamental unit which does not fit into this scheme, the ts'un (village). As a village, Sanlei Ts'un has an established geographic boundary, possesses a historic reality as a unit, and is significant for social and area affairs. Sanlei is highly integrated and is a prime unit for personal identification for there is no confusion about who is or who is not a member of each village. However, in Taiwan, a ts'un (village) may have no necessary official functions, merely serving as an address and a registration unit for 632 land. Another formal unit, the li, is directly in the 621

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
666 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He
632 will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
• 562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the men to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

121 community as the main agency of socialization and shame,
558 the psychological mechanism promoting conformity. This
571 is explored more fully in the chapter on the life cycle,
576 but elements are important for this discussion. Tradition
626 is important. Some people, particularly older ones, are considered to have such expertise with regard to cultural norms that acceptance of their authoritative interpretation of norms is frequent and natural. For example, a recently married woman wanted to go see her sister's new baby but knew there was some avoidance rule involving brides and babies. After learning from an older woman that a bride brought misfortune to a baby less than 30 days old, she willingly accepted the ruling and did not even seem disappointed. In many cases, there is this quite willing acceptance of custom for its own sake.

[562] In summary, it appears that women are not significant on an overt level for social control in the contexts discussed in this chapter. They do not really participate in formal rule, politics, or most political units. Their effects are more covert. They influence men and are extremely significant in the socialization process which builds into individuals the internal mechanisms of social control.

592 Although some men have strong personalities and resist this withdrawal from active control quite vigorously, 592 others are most happy to comply. Life in the village for 888 the semi-retired old man seems to be most pleasant. Liao Tai-peng, the 72 year old temple caretaker, often states that he no longer has to worry about finances and does not really know his family condition as his oldest son has now taken on the burden of family care. In some cases, a son desires to assume control before his father is willing to give it up. This conflict may be particularly strong as the old man's sixtieth year passes and is often accentuated by the son's literacy and greater knowledge of new crops and techniques derived from the greater contact with the world outside the village. However, because of the strong values associated with filial piety, the son must be most careful not to push too hard and bring down the wrath of fellow villagers. Even when a man yields actual control to his son, there is seldom a change in the official records unless there has been a formal family division (discussed in a subsequent section). Thus, a man may be listed as the chia chang in spite of the fact his son is the effective head. In one case, the official chia chang is senile, frequently wets his pants, and is rarely lucid. He frequently wanders about the village especially in the bright sunshine, until led home by his grandchild.

592 Of the 66 chia chang appearing on the official 562 records, 53 or 80% are male and 13 or 20% are female. This

[621]

592 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the
562 arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be
[624] capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

592 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the
621 means by which they entered the village are indicative of
591 the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

597 represents a loss of a village girl for no one in Sanlei has a servant.

584 597 In order to eventually allow for a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage, a family frequently gives up a natural daughter in adoption and immediately brings in an adopted girl, i.e., if a woman with a son age five or so has a baby daughter, she can give her out for adoption and replace her with an adopted daughter. The expenses of raising children is equal whether natural or adopted. However, when the children are mature, with adoption and a <u>siaosiv</u> marriage, there is only one marriage to arrange instead of two and the larger expenses of the groom's parents for a regular marriage are avoided.

There is a greater stigma attached to giving up a girl in adoption to a family which has no son as a potential future mate than to one with a son. If the family has a son, people claim it might be something like an arranged marriage, but if there is no son, it can only be considered the same as selling the girl. Most girls from proper Sanlei families who are adopted out go to families with sons of appropriate ages (discussed in a later section).

597 562 842 Other reasons for adopting daughters are suggested. Because a woman gains status in her husband's home through her children and since an adopted daughter is legally and morally the equivalent of a natural daughter, a fast means of incorporation is provided. A new wife can significantly

improve her position in an extended household soon after marriage by adopting a daughter rather than waiting for a child to be born. This reason for adoption is not frequent but does demonstrate a significant factor with regard to the role of women. There was only one case in Sanlei, one in Erhlei, and two in T'oulei but several people discussed it specifically and generally. It tends to occur only when the woman has a "strong personality," has earned money working outside the village before marriage, and is married at an age two to five years beyond the median age. These conditions suggest that the practice may be an attempt to minimize the status loss for such a woman upon marriage.

A second additional reason for the adoption of daughters is related to the mechanism of the adopted-in husband marriage discussed in an earlier section. A family without children would be incapable of meeting the injunction that there be descendants to carry on worship of ancestors. Because of the high death rate, a family with only one or two children is also in a precarious position. According to Hsu and true for Sanlei as well as most of China:

> The desire for male descendants is intense. In local usage this is to insure the continuation of smoke from the incense at ancestral shrines. To perpetuate this smoke insures the continuation (1967:75).

597 It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the
769 appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in
583 carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

597 The third and final additional reason seems to be
608 based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

597 Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

162 There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei
562 who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

597 married as siaosiv, and six who had been adopted and later
• 562 married to adopted-in husbands. Finally, there were five
162 wives who had once been adopted daughters but married out. In total, 31 females who were living in Sanlei at one time had been adopted daughters (see Table 9). Since there were 194 females at the time of the census, 16% had once been adopted. This may appear to be high, but the frequency appears to be decreasing and is probably related to the decline in siaosiv marriage and improved economic conditions. In a 1934-5 rural survey near Taipei, it was discovered that 25% of the females were once adopted (Okada, 1937), a percentage much higher than current Taiwan rates.

Table 9. Adopted Daughter Types in Sanlei Ts'un

Type	Number	Per Cent
Adopted, Unmarried	8	4.1
Adopted, Married as Siaosiv	12	6.2
Adopted, Married with Chao Fu	6	3.1
Adopted, Married Out	5	2.6
Total Adopted	31	16.0
Never Adopted	163	84.0
Village Female Total	194	100.0

The data regarding girls who were adopted out of Sanlei Ts'un is not as complete as will be explained by the details of where and how adopted girls originate. Nevertheless, among the families currently living in Sanlei, there were 15 girls who had been adopted out. There

597 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adop-
562 562 tion between families who both live in the village counts
162 twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 One of the items of the household registration is
562 the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex.
[217] Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given in adoption because a family has too many already, but the data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high number of adopted children whose birth order is first or second indicates other processes are significant although nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families which already have three or more girls. Since girls do not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that younger girls will be released by families that have several daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic deprivation necessitates the release of girls although there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not incorporated in larger chia also results in releasing children who may have a birth order number which is first or second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted daughters to promote later siaosiy marriages explains some

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

Table 10. Birth Order of Adopted-in Female Residents

Birth Order	Number
1	8
2	5
3	3
4	6
5	4
6	3
7	2
Total	31

of the other first or second daughter adoptions. Finally, illegitimate children and children from common-law marriages are sometimes released. In many of these latter cases, there would be no one in Sanlei to interview as required by the conditions for including the examples.

The age at adoption ranges from immediately after birth to as much as eight or nine years. Most frequently, they tend to be about age two or soon after weaning, while the very young babies usually replace a nursing child who has died or are exchanged between two families who both plan *siaosiv* marriages. The adopted girls tend to originate from the local area immediately surrounding Sanlei although two came from Taipei and one from Hualien.

Incorporation ceremonies for adopted children are minimal and are typically arranged by a matchmaker. Among friends or *ch'n ch'i* (affinal relatives), there is no payment of "milk money," an equivalent of the bride price at marriage. "Milk money" for female babies averages $100.00,

paid to the natal family but it is said that the older the girl and the more attractive her appearance, the greater the amount required as an adoption fee. However, no villager knows of a Sanlei girl who was merely sold but, as discussed above, given the characteristics of some people who release girls, i.e., parents of an illegitimate child, this does not mean it has not occurred. Villagers did know of two girls in another village a mile distant who were sold to become prostitutes. Three Sanlei village girls have become prostitutes in Taipei but they departed for their own reasons after reaching maturity. Once again, impressions indicate that the frequency of adoptions currently is slightly less than it was in the past.

The traditional literature suggests that the treatment of adopted daughters in a household was often extremely harsh, while adopted sons were treated well (Latourette, 1959:679-80; Burkhardt, 1953, 174-6; Smith, 1899:237-311). For the most part, girls adopted into Sanlei were about as well treated as natural daughters. There was strong sentiment also that girls given out in adoption should go to a good home, particularly one that had the potential for a later *siaosiv* marriage because it was said that if the girl was an intended future bride, she would be raised under conditions to promote good relations in the family. A Sanlei family which merely sold a girl would be strongly censured.

Adopted Sons

597 In addition to birth, boys may also be incorporated
• 562 into a family through adoption. Adoption of males usually occurs when they are very young and tends to be full and complete. The adoption of baby boys is much less frequent
[162] than that of girls. At the time of the census there were only seven males (3.2%) living in Sanlei who had ever been adopted, a significant contrast with the 16% adopted females. There are two major types of boy adoptions.

The type which is considered a mere sale comprised five of the seven male adoptions in Sanlei. As described by Gallin for Hsin Hsing (1966:166-8), no permanent relations are established or maintained between the two families in the transaction and there are strenuous efforts to keep any information about an adopted boy's natal family
597 secret. In contrast, the marriage ceremony of an adopted
562 girl frequently involved three families: the groom's,
585 the girl's natal and the girl's adoptive. It is not uncommon in the case of an adopted daughter's wedding for the bride to return to her natal home for a day or two before the wedding. Also, the usual visit by bride and groom three days after their marriage is consumated to worship the wife's ancestors is often to both of the girl's homes, natal and adopted. In the case of the marriage of an adopted boy who was merely sold, however, the boy's
597 natal family is seldom involved. Villagers believe that

youngest generation. Huang (5) gave up his second son (6) to Liao (4) in adoption, and his surname (6) was changed from Huang to Liao. Since the household continues as a single chia, the adoption may appear to be a trivial structural modification but this is not true for the adopted son (6) will be different from his siblings in worship and inheritance. He (6) is now attending a junior high school as the only person in the family who has ever gone beyond elementary school, the extra cost borne by his adopted father (4).

Adopted boys originate in a manner distinctively different from the manner described for girls. On the one hand, boys are seldom given up as a surplus. They tend to be first or second in birth order and often are merely

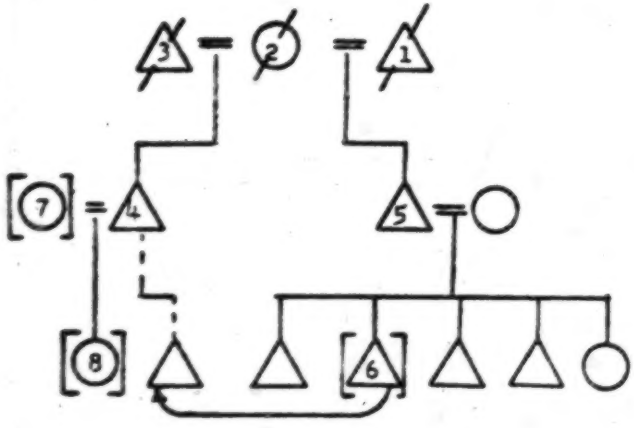

Figure 8. Kinship Diagram, Huang Wen-sheng Chia

597 sold, probably because they are illegitimate and rather
562 than a matchmaker, there is a broker. The going price in
435 Hsin Tien in 1966, although the supply was most limited, was $3,000.00 for a baby boy. Since a girl could be purchased in the same way for less than $300.00, the price is indicative of their respective value ratings. The only adopted boys who had a high birth order were usually adopted between patrilineally related kinsmen.

Family Division and Inheritance

428 The above described processes are used along with
562 birth to build families. Conversely, the breakdown of a family is also a significant step, usually accomplished by family division, a legal event requiring registration in the public office. Family division can be smooth and harmonious but is usually a period of tension for disputes over the division of property are common. It is usual to employ a distant relative, often a respected ch'in ch'i (affinal relative), to negotiate and mediate the division. Some people gain reputations as being very skillful in mediating family divisions.

According to the law (C. K. Yang, 1959b:92), there should be no differences in shares according to sex but in practice, girls rarely get a share equal to boys. It appears that it is considered to be the family's responsibility to see a daughter properly married and living with her husband. If she is an old maid, a widow, or a

428 divorcee who has returned home, she may receive a share
• 562 about equal to her brothers but since marriage and re-marriage is common, the occurrence of these conditions is infrequent. If family division occurs with yet unmarried daughters in the household, part of the process will be an assumption of the obligation to see that each has a good match. The implications of the equal inheritance law is such that if there were two boys and a girl in a family, each should receive one third of the estate (assuming both parents are dead). In Sanlei, each boy would get one half if the girl was married. If she was not married, one brother, most likely the eldest, would get a larger share, the extra amount sufficient to provide a dowry for his sister. Only if the girl were married with an adopted-in husband (chao fu) or if her eventual marriage prospects were nearly nil would she obtain a one-third share. Girls appear to sign papers when it is occasionally necessary to give up their rights without pressure, but often it is merely understood that the daughter has few, if any, rights. No female has yet contested a division in the courts.

The immediately preceding action of females does not appear consistent with what I have argued about the status of women. That is, women seem to be extremely inferior to men with respect to inheritance although I claim women approach equality with men but I believe the appearance is

428 deceiving. To support my position, note that nearly 100%
562 of the females in Sanlei eventually marry. Widows and
428 divorcees in an age bracket when family division is likely
562 to occur, i.e., when their father is around age 60, also
587 have nearly 100% success in obtaining second husbands.
589 There is agreement in the village that a man is responsible for supporting his female dependents although they too may make economic contributions through their own efforts. An unmarried female is the responsibility of her natal family (adopting family if adopted) while a married female is the responsibility of her husband's family. This responsibility continues even after her husband dies. That is, if a family containing a widow and her children plus her husband's brother were to divide, the widow and her brother-in-law would share equally if her remarriage prospects were low. However, without children, as previously stated, she is not fully incorporated in her husband's family and would not share, but a childless widow is still a prime marriage prospect. In Sanlei, a widow is usually helped to remarry by obtaining a dowry from her first husband's family. If she has children, she is usually expected to have an adopted-in husband. If she has many children, her first husband's family may offer a second prospective groom one of the children in adoption (changing his surname) as an inducement to become a chao fu. There was one such case
428 in Sanlei and two in Szulei. A daughter with a chao fu
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husband will get a full share of her parent's estate although her husband may receive a portion of her share as specified in the original marriage contract.

In summary, the traditional system did provide for a woman by assigning some man responsibility for her economic welfare. The new system of inheritance which makes women equal to men in economic terms is also designed to provide for women but in a different manner. The old system works and no woman has yet decided to attempt to introduce the new system into the village because the immediate personal gain might not offset the potential long-term security for women currently provided by the community.

In general, division of a family involves the male patriline. Family division can best be viewed as anticipated inheritance. All a man's sons have rights to his property even while he is still in active control. For example, sale of a piece of property may be of questionable validity without the approval of a man's sons. In Sanlei, if there is only one son (producing a stem family) family division will probably never occur. If there are two or more sons, division is most likely when the youngest son marries and has a child, but if the father dies before the last son is married, division is likely to occur soon after the funeral. Most divisions occur before the death of the last parent.

121 182 602 59 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria were merely based on those items that seemed immediately necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[769] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[769] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[597] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

• [562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[589] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

769 Indeed, it appears that any descendants of Liao Chin-I,
596 the founder of the compound, have certain rights of wor-
782 ship in the kung t'ing. The chia chang of B, the oldest male in his generation, is recognized to be in charge of the room for tax purposes or for planning ritual events,
• 562 but he regularly consults the old woman in A. Anybody in the compound can carry out the required daily worship, morning and evening, for the entire compound but it is considered best if the worshipper is an older male. Individuals take turns but with no rotating regularity. For worship, one individual may represent the entire compound but often several may participate. For special worship in the evening on the first and fifteenth of the lunar month, food sacrifices are prepared in each household and taken to the kung t'ing for worship together and at that time, an older male usually makes special remarks. Each family takes back its own food to consume after completing worship. Special holiday worship may be in this manner but there also may be a single large feast, potluck fashion.

Contributions of money for religious purposes (incense sticks, paper money, room upkeep) are contributed by each family on the basis of ability to pay. However, the kung t'ing is not kept in the best condition as suggested by an appropriate proverb, "What is public is for everyone's use and no one's responsibility" (see Glossary C).

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered [563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but [828] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join 525 clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it 562 appears that women usually constitute about half the 575 membership. In this regard, most village women obviously

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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rank higher in the status system than some men.

Female participants in money-lending clubs are of two structural types. One type consists of those who are heads of households participating with household money such that any profits which are realized will be returned to the family pool. Since men are usually the heads of households, in a sense, women filling this role of head are the equivalent of men. Historically, female heads of households in Sanlei have always participated in money-lending clubs.

The second structural type consists of women who are not heads of households and who participate with their personal money. And profits which they realize are retained personally rather than contributed to the family pool. As previously stated, only women have this personal money which does not belong to the family pool (See Chapter III). Some villagers claim that 25 or more years ago women had personal money but did not use it for money-lending clubs but other villagers disagree, arguing that women always participated in the clubs with personal money. In any case, women do use their personal money now to join the smaller clubs and eventually, accumulate enough for any club. One older active village woman has accumulated over $10,000.00 in personal money, the equivalent of the amount a man would earn in about eight months of full-time work. The opportunity to accumulate such funds does give women a significant level of economic

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independence and thereby, elevate their status and security.

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Money-lending clubs are extremely popular in Sanlei and about six or seven are in process at any moment in time. The participants are drawn from about two thirds of the households; some households contain more than two participants, i.e., the man participating as a household head and his wife participating with her personal money. Some men belong to several clubs simultaneously, but women usually belong to only one at a time. In one case, Liao Chi-hsing, a farmer at the middle level of income in the community, belonged to four simultaneously at a cost of over $1,000.00 monthly.

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With their inter-locking memberships, money-lending clubs are a unifying force in the village. Both males and females participate in the same clubs and either sex may be a club originator. This is one of the few village organizations in which both sexes formally participate competitively as relative equals. However, because of other kinds of values, a husband and his wife do not participate in the same club.

[593]

Chieh Pai Hsiung Ti (Sworn Brothers Association)

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A sworn brothers association is a pseudo-kinship group of males who are friends and age mates, i.e., within an age span of two to four years. Each association is formed by a group of twenty or so young men when they are between the ages of 17 and 24. Rarely do the members live more than one or two villages apart at the time the

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[562]

2 chin pork	Birth of Son
2 chin pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin pork	Death of Father
1 chin pork	Death of Mother
5 chin pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

561 782 573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

573 561 627 [626] The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors; association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

573 unfilial or frighten older men with threats of physical
561 violence. The threats have always been sufficient to
627 insure proper behavior. In periods of the year when there
[626] is high probability of stealing such as near New Year's Day, or after a theft has occurred, various associations have taken responsibility for a night patrol in the village. Thieves from outside the li were caught twice in the last three years and were severely thrashed before turning them over to the police. The unit also supports
561 its members in conflict or adversity. Political support
66 for a fellow member is near automatic and it is signifi-
573 cant that most local leaders have connections with the larger kinship units discussed in the last chapter and are also members of fairly large sworn brothers associations. Local political leaders attempt to enlist association support and several usually make courtesy calls long enough for a quick drink and snack at various association meetings.

561 There are few village men who fail to join a
573 sworn brothers association as young men. A few groups have added members later in their existence although most stick to the original membership roster. A migrant to the area may establish good relations and be invited to join an ongoing group whose members are his approximate
[562] age. There are many similar clubs all over the area near Hsin Tien but there is no structural equivalent for women.

794 778 temple is the central focus for various religious festi-
778 794 623 vals that punctuate the yearly cycle. There is a major temple committee, selected by a process of consensus, consisting of the senior and most respected men in the community. The committee is in charge of a small plot of paddy land, the income from which goes to support the temple caretaker. The committee is also responsible for the maintenance of the temple and for coordination of temple affairs.

796 794 624 [787] Those religious affairs which are regular, occurring on a standard date each year, are not managed by the major temple committee. Rather, each chia chang or his representative comes to the temple and casts the shen pei[3] with its falls interpreted as a yes or no. Whoever obtains the most yes votes before receiving a no is the Lu Chu (pot master) in charge of the next event. He has assistant potmasters on the special committee, one from each lin (legal subdivision of the village) chosen in the same manner. [562] Potmasters have never been female but females have been permitted to cast the sticks to attempt the office and females are often assistant potmasters.[4]

796 62 794 The special committee is responsible for planning the scheduled event and raising the money to pay for it. If no one on the committee is experienced, a member of the major temple committee is usually added as an ex officio member.[5] A special committee will meet six or seven times for planning purposes, the members sounding

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
462 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
476 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alternate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men, usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an addition of a five meal bonus when the work is transplanting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor, almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers. It is easy to keep track of records because one day's labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

625 night stick, and piece of rope. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two man patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[36] [491] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

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778 There is no permanent individual in charge of the temple
796 which belongs to the entire community. Each particular
794 festival has a lu chu (pot master) in charge and a com-
624 mittee of assistant pot masters, one from each of the six
787 village lin, all chosen by the gods through casting the shen pei. Whoever obtains the most "yes" answers before his first "no" is considered to have been selected by the gods for the position. The last part of any yearly event requires casting the shen pei to determine the next year's committee. Since there are two major regular events each year plus periodic special affairs, each requiring a unique committee of seven, many villagers are involved in temple committees at any particular moment in time.

• 562 Women have never been the pot master but they have
624 regularly been assistant pot masters. Gallin claims this
794 is an unusual role for women in the Chang-hua area in
[778] which he worked (personal communication). Sanlei villagers believe it is natural because the pot masters and assistant pot masters are said to be selected solely by the gods. Eligible candidates who cast the shen pei include all village chia chang (household heads) and since the chia chang are usually males, the unusualness may be deceiving. That is, female lu chu may be rare only because female chia chang are relatively rare and not because there is some normative bias against female lu chu. As previously stated, female chia chang are more numerous in Sanlei than

562 624 [594] in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker 783 [358] replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

Temple Gods

776 There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

anymore. The next day, there was a cave-in which killed a miner from Erhlei Ts'un. The part-time miner was sure the god had saved him so he obtained a statue of the god, installed it in the temple, and pledged to worship it daily for the rest of his life. Although the history of the acquisition of many statues is known, much has been lost and as stated earlier, two of the statutes are completely unknown, even their names.

The statues in the temple are called gods because they are more than a mere symbolic representation, they actually possess some essence of the god himself, acquired by being made by special craftsmen and by being placed with appropriate rituals next to other gods in special temples for a period of time. Temple gods may become contaminated by various means such as by the close approach of a person in mourning or a menstruating woman. When contaminated, they lose much of their power but there are appropriate rituals to cleanse them.

Gods are both males and females and probably the most popular single god in China is Kuan-yin, the so called Goddess of Mercy (L. Thompson, 1969:56). In Taiwan and Fukien, one of the most popular gods is Matsu, another female, around whom a major celebration is dedicated each year in Sanlei. The importance of females in the pantheon of gods is consistent with the arguments presented in this paper with regard to the role of women in Chinese society.

121 I have argued that females are not as inferior to men as
• 562 claimed in much of the traditional literature (see Chap-
7% ter X). On the spiritual plane, which as mentioned partially mirrors the structure of Imperial China's political organization, female gods hold commanding positions and rank above a great many male gods.

Temple Events

79% Each year, there are two major religious events celebrated in the temple, the Matsu procession and Lunar New Year (see Chapter IX). In many years there is also an additional major special event, i.e., not regular periodic. There have been three extra events in the past five years such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" (discussed in the latter part of this chapter). There is nearly 100% participation in major events, each of which usually lasts more than one day and features elaborate hired entertainment, hired religious specialists, dinner and entertainment parties, food and money sacrifices at the temple and at home, and individual and kinship unit worship.

There are seven or eight minor religious events during each year (see Chapter IX) which are celebrated in a manner not unlike the above major events but much less elaborately. The extent of participation is less and sacrifices are smaller. We collected lists of affairs in which each family participated by household and in only

usually be a god's pot. Extra pots are usually those with separate surnames for worship of ancestors other than the ones associated with the head of the household (see later section).

Directly in front of the ancestral table is the table of Eight Immortals (four feet square) with a bench on each side so that it can comfortably seat eight. On it are placed the food sacrifices to the gods and/or ancestors although it should be carried outside the door to hold sacrifices for negative spirits who, after all, should not be invited into the house. Because it often rains and since most people do not want to bother, it is usually placed just inside the door. It is pulled out for dining at parties or for children to do homework.

On the wall behind the ancestral table are usually some scrolls, god's pictures, and perhaps the picture of a dead ancestor. On the sidewalls are advertisements, calendars, and pictures of living older members of the household.

In almost all village households, each morning and each evening of every day someone worships in front of the ancestral table with incense; usually the worshipper is a male but it is permissable for a female to substitute. On either the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each month, special rich foods are used for the evening worship and consumed afterwards. On the regular periodic

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
573 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea
621 and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[789] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
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632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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Very few villagers are educated beyond the compulsory six years although the government is now planning a change from six to nine years of compulsory education.[1] This change too will have a major effect on the typical life cycle for entrance into the labor market (and achievement of young adult status) will be delayed an additional three years. The immediate direct effects on the economics of village life are obvious but there will undoubtedly be concomitant social and cultural effects. For example, at present, boys do not start smoking until their formal education is completed. Even if a boy's age cohorts are working and smoking, the village boy still in school does not. If education is extended three more years, boys will probably not start smoking, on the average, until they are three years older than the present beginning age.

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The effects resulting from a change in the length of compulsory education suggested above are more than mere idle speculations, they are derived by extensions of a process which has already been realized in the last twenty years.

[212]

Among people over age 70 still living in the village, there is only one literate person, a male. He claimed that when he was a young man, although the village population exceeded 250, only about 15 people attended the local school, only two of them girls. As a clear demonstration of a pattern change, at the time of the study, there were only three village children (one male, two female) of appropriate ages not

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Table 11. Percentage of Sanlei Villagers Who Graduated

Age in 1965	Year of Graduation	Percentage Graduating Male	Female
15-19	1960-64	96.7	87.6
25-29	1950-54	90.0	50.0
35-39	1940-44	66.7	22.2
45-49	1930-34	66.7	16.7
55-59	1920-24	50.0	10.0
65-69	1910-14	27.6	2.3

in school and satisfactorily progressing within one year of the normal grade for their respective ages.

The figures in Table 11 suggest the rate of change in education over time for Sanlei village by means of an analysis of current living residents in various age groups. In 1915, school was not really a significant stage in the life cycle for most villagers but by 1925, it was the most frequent (over 50%) pattern for males and by 1955, for females. By 1960, there remained scarcely any other pattern with reference to ages between 6 and 12 except to attend school. Actually, the current three exceptions are not a single structural type for each truant has a unique reason.

178 With reference to the stages to be discussed below, changes such as the above example have occurred in the memory of living villagers. In addition to those related to economics and education, important changes are connected with the population growth, increased life expectancy, and the availability of modern medical facilities including Western hospitals and birth control clinics.

significantly less for each ten-year age cohort. It is interesting that men's reports are nearly identical to their wives and both sexes agree that women are predominantly in control of the eventual family size.

The typical desired family size among women of child-bearing ages (and their respective husbands) is now four or five with no one listing less than three and only three women and five men, more than six. The pair who desired the largest number was a married couple with ten children who both wanted twelve. In spite of the reported bias towards males, if the number is even, the desire is usually for an equal number of males and females, but if the desired number is odd, males are nearly always expected to constitute a majority of one. Only a few very old men reported a desire for nearly all males but everyone agrees that if a couple have only one child, he should be male.

These reports from Sanlei should not be construed such that there is not a strong preference for males. Rather, the preference is not as strong as has been suggested in some of the literature (see Chapter X). Almost everyone desires a male for the first child and a family with all boys will be viewed by neighbors as fortunate while a family with all girls is something to be pitied, but not as much as a family with no children at all. After a string of girls, a family may name the last as "our last daughter" in hope of breaking the chain of misfortune. There is no corresponding practice for a string of boys.

843 For just about every other event in village requiring
• 562 religious-magical activities, men predominate in their performance. It appears that women may worship individually more often than men, but if an activity is required rather than voluntary, men usually perform it. Women are dominant only in religious activities which focus on pregnancy and childbirth. Before birth, the only requirement for men is continuance of sustenance responsibilities, tendency to indulge his wife's whims (particularly food cravings), and sexual abstinence during the last month of the pregnancy.
84b He has responsibility after birth for a month's continued sexual abstinence and joint participation in naming, cele-
843 brating, and introducing the child. The expectant father has no requirements regarding food or ritual which are the equivalents of those for his wife.

The delayed onset of the menstrual period marks the beginning of pregnancy. Almost all women state pregnancy is accompanied by a craving for odd foods which comes and goes all during pregnancy. Most of the foods are not very expensive but are unusual or out of season. Morning sickness is fairly common but only present in a minority of cases. Aside from certain forbidden activities, morning sickness or pregnancy in general is not expected to interfere with a woman's daily activities and hard work. Work continues right up until near parturition for everyone agrees that hard work, particularly many walks up into the mountains, will make parturition easier.

876 of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

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867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

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769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

883 The child can now assume a regular full-time job but
464 girls have much better opportunities than boys for there are many clothing factories in the general area which employ girls as low-paid unskilled operators. Only a few boys are able to get jobs in factories or as apprentices. Additionally, since most of the farm labor work for females is compensated on a piece-work basis while the bulk of that for males is on a daily rate, girls have another advantage over boys because the payment on a piece-work basis is less risky
• [562] because one only pays for results, not efforts. Since girls
[178] now produce more income than boys, many villagers remark, "Perhaps girls are worth more than boys!" (See Glossary C.)

885 Achievement of adult status is blurred; there is no real agreement in many cases. Marriage is nearly the only means for girls. Because of the increasing age at marriage and the fact that men are older at marriage and some never marry, it is possible for some boys to become men before marriage. There is not full agreement even on marriage al-
[274] though everyone agrees that parents are adults. People note when an individual earns enough to fully support himself and a boy rarely smokes before reaching this stage.

572 Boys and girls have little to do with each other. Boys pal around in intimate groups which often eventually become sworn brothers associations and in this way, a friendship relationship is institutionalized which is likely to last the rest of the boy's life. Girls too have intimate

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] [276] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a particular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

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527 561 888 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birthday, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will

Death and Beyond

Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Fei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accompanied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

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562 adopted-in husband marriage which was supposed to produce children but which will now be impossible.

764 Regular funerals are usually held only for married
593 people with children[8] and the kind of ceremony held does
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562 furnish a clue to the relative status of males and females. In similar social positions, the ceremony for a male will be more elaborate than that for a female. In a single household however, it is likely that the ceremony for a married-in female who has borne several children will be much more elaborate than that for her husband's unmarried male brother although both died at the same age. This fact does support my contention that the woman with children is fully incorporated into her husband's chia. The bulk of the most elaborate funerals ever witnessed in the village area are those of females but this is not due to a preference for females but only due to the fact that women tend to outlive men. The oldest people are usually females and as stated, the more descendants a person has, the larger the funeral ceremony.

761 There are significant differences relating to natural death versus accidental death. Natural death is the result of old age or disease while accidental death involves violence such as a fall or a mine cave in. Natural death is
763 celebrated in the kung t'ing and if it looks like someone is about to die, he is moved to the kung t'ing to await death.
764 On the other hand, a body of an individual who had an accidental death may not be brought into the kung t'ing or any

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.

the li school teachers. In spite of the fact that moon cakes and the festival are yin, some moon cakes are sacrificed to T'u Ti Kung who is a male and therefore yang.

The second of the double number festivals is the Double Ninth, the ninth day of the ninth month. Since this is a yang holiday, the counterpart of the above for the yang or male part of the yin-yang,[8] it is often also termed the Double Yang. On Double Ninth, men like to have many guests for dinner with a tendency to prefer male guests only, so many of the Sworn Brother Associations schedule one of their regular yearly banquets. Young people in the area climb to the top of the small surrounding mountains (foothills might be more descriptive) and try to run all the way down without falling. Since this is difficult, the sight of the clumsy falls provokes much laughter in the village.

Tung Chieh (Winter Solstice) falls during the eleventh month, the day varying with the calendar cycles. Once again, there are the typical sacrifices and worship plus a special food, winter dumplings. In Sanlei, the farmers sacrifice dumplings all over the village, leaving some out in the fields and attaching some to each of the pig pens. Most farmers worship also at the temple of T'u Ti Kung.

The New Year festivities commence on the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month with a ceremony to send off the gods. Earthly gods ascend to heaven to report and will not

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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villagers eat at the homes of richer villagers.

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Most villagers claim that men are responsible for carrying out the worship activities connected with religion and also for arranging the events. On the other hand, in another breath, the same villagers will say that the responsibility is borne by the head of the household. There is an implied assumption that the terms man and head-of-household are nearly synonymous but as pointed out previously, many heads of households are females in Sanlei Ts'un. From an observational point of view, there is little doubt that women are prime organizing forces in planning the celebrations. Ordinarily, for the very minor occasions, they do much of the actual worship itself but on one of the special days described above, when the family and guests gather to watch a worship activity, an older man will perform if one is available in the family. If one is not available, a woman will worship. The family identification is more important than the sex for on several occasions I observed women performing the worship activity although there were old men present as guests who were not members of the family. On the most important days, those with worship activities at the village and _li_ temples, there will always be some women observed among the celebrants. They are well accepted and will evoke no disparaging remarks as long as they have no man in the family who should be assuming the responsibility.

178 Tea was added later and since the demand for labor
245 inputs in tea production tend to occur during relatively
464 slack periods in the cycle of rice production, tea helped even out the demand for labor.

Oranges, which were added more recently, are a second leveling factor in the seasonal labor demands because the date when most required work such as fertilizing, spraying with insecticide, and weeding must be completed is not cru-
[293] cial to eventual production quantities. This technology is unlike that for rice which permits few delays in many steps without serious reduction in the eventual size of the harvest. The only requirement in citrus cultivation for large prompt labor inputs comes during the harvest season which falls in December and January when both rice and tea cultivation activities are either non-existent or are at their slackest periods.

178 This ecological and technological adjustment has
• 567 been a prime factor contributing to the elevation of the
464 status of women. Some agricultural tasks such as tea pick-
[245] ing and tea sorting are considered appropriate only for
[464] women, and other tasks such as orange orchard weeding are
[34] considered appropriate for either men or women. Because there are jobs such as coal mining readily available for mature men in the immediate area around the village, there has been little surplus of male labor exerting pressure to
[288] replace women with men. In the younger age groups, the

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[288] operations of the cloth and clothing factories around Taipei which require relatively unskilled labor inputs of a nature which can be accomplished by women, again draw on the female labor pool in Talei Li. Together, these various factors function to make female labor valuable and this fact necessarily means a level of relative economic independence for females. Moreover, in terms of agricultural activities alone, the addition of citrus cultivation to tea cultivation has made possible employment for women every month of the entire year since the demands of each have very little overlap. The combination covers the entire year fairly evenly.

The Daily Cycle

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[221] From the above facts, it can be seen that there is no such thing as a typical day in Sanlei Ts'un. There are seasonal differences due to the great differences resulting from the major agricultural activities being performed at
[796] the particular moment in time. There are at least 60 special
[527] religious holidays each year, some relatively minor, when the daily pattern of behavior varies and a few national secular holidays as well with similar varying behavior pat-
[871] terns. Monday through Fridays differ from Saturday which has a half-day of school instead of a full day and even more from Sunday when the school and several factories are closed. A greater number of visitors come to the village on
[971] Sunday and most farmers reduce their work loads. The summer

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

128 The immediately preceding eight chapters constitute
• 562 a brief ethnographic description of Sanlei Ts'un with particular attention focused on the role of women. The role behavior of women is quite unlike the brief description abstracted from traditional accounts which was considered in the first chapter. Provided below is a more extensive review of the traditional literature followed by an explicit contrast with the observed female behavior patterns in the subject village. Although part of the differences between observed and expected role behavior may be due to regional variations and the cultural and social changes accompanying modernization and industrialization, it will be demonstrated that the previous case for the lowly position of women has been exaggerated. The last section of the chapter explores possible reasons for the errors and concludes with a suggestion for further research.

Traditional Accounts of the Position of Women

114 Perhaps the best manner to capture the flavor and
562 fact of traditional accounts explicating the role of women

114 in Chinese society would be to provide a series of direct
• 562 quotations from the literature. Although these have been taken out of context, efforts have been exerted not to distort the impression created by the original author. Although many of the statements may appear to be over-simplified and absolutistic, i.e., without exception, the fault is that of the author and not mine. The eight examples are as follows:

> The domination of age over youth within the old-style family was matched by the domination of male over female. Chinese girls in the old days were more likely than baby boys to suffer infanticide. A girl's marriage was, of course, arranged and not for love. The trembling bride became at once a daughter-in-law under the tyranny of her husband's mother. In a well-to-do family she might see secondary wives or concubines brought into her household, particularly if she did not bear a male heir. She could be repudiated by her husband for various reasons. If he died she could not easily remarry. All this reflected the fact that a woman had no economic independence. Her labor was absorbed in household tasks and brought her no income. Peasant women were universally illiterate. They had few or no property rights. . . The inferiority of women imposed upon them by social custom was merely one manifestation of the hierarchic nature of a society of status. . . While male and female were both necessary and complementary, one was by nature passive toward the other. Building on such ideological foundations, an endless succession of Chinese male moralists worked out the behavior pattern of obedience and passivity which was to be expected of women. These patterns subordinated girls to boys from infancy and kept the wife subordinate to her husband and the mother to her son. Forceful women, whom China has never lacked, controlled their families by indirection, not by fiat (Fairbank, 1958:30-1).

> In China, the expression "an article on which money has been wasted" is a common paraphrase for designating a young girl; and the most ideally perfect daughter, viz. she who possesses the virtues of the

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• 562 eighteen Lohans according to a Chinese proverb, is not equal to a club-footed son. . . A Chinese woman may even be repudiated by her mother-in-law; a Chinese who admits to having beaten his wife to death escapes any penalty if his pretext for doing so is that she failed in her filial duty towards his parents. . . A Chinese husband would blush if he were surprised in the act of conversing with his wife. In a group composed of several couples, the women always keep to themselves and the men do the same without any communication between the two sides or any sign which would betray who is married to whom. . . If the Chinese woman has no son and gives birth to a series of daughters her existence in the home becomes a hell (Herbert, 1965:221-36).

Girls have been generally regarded as much less valuable than boys and sayings in common circulation appraise sons as infinitely preferable to daughters. One such proverb states in effect that the most beautiful and gifted girl is not so desireable as a deformed boy. . . Among the very poor, the killing of female infants has been by no means unknown. While statistics are lacking, it seems, indeed, to have been very common. . . In ordinary homes, especially of most of the farmers and the poor, girls and women have led a life of hard labor (Latourette, 1959:679-80).

The present position of woman in China is a heritage of the remote past, as is illustrated by the most ancient Chinese literature . . . The essence of Chinese classical teaching on this subject is, that woman is as inferior to man as the earth is inferior to heaven; and that she can never attain to full equality with man. According to Chinese philosophy death and evil have their origin in the Yin, or female principle of Chinese dualism, while life and prosperity come from the subjection of it to the Yang, or male principle; hence it is regarded as a law of nature to keep woman completely under the power of man, and to allow her no will of her own. The result of this theory and the corresponding practice is that the ideal for women is not development and cultivation, but submission. . . We must, therefore, regard the position of women in China, as the ultimate outcome and a most characteristic fruitage of Confucianism. In our view it has been a bitter fruit (Smith, 1899: 305-6).

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• 562 The low status of Chinese women whether in the family or in society is proverbial. In traditional Chinese fiction the female character was frequently introduced by the line "unfortunately she was born a woman." K'ang Yu-wei, the precursor of modern reformers at the end of the last century, listed being born a woman as one of the calamities of life. . . To hold women in general, and young and middle-aged wives in particular, to an inferior status where mistreatment abounded and even death lurked, the authority of the family was supported by all the repressive features of the traditional institution of arranged marriage. . . In addition to concubinage, which posed a constant threat against the wife, and the absence of freedom of divorce, which served to block the wife from a peaceful means of escape from an unpleasant situation, there were three other traditional limitations which applied not only in marriage but to the general status of women in Chinese society: loss of her name, seclusion, and lack of education (C. K. Yang, 1959:106-111).

The second element [in summarizing the culture of West Town] is what I call estrangement between the sexes. On the one hand this pattern prescribes sex inequality, and on the other it necessitates the elimination of all erotic expression. Both measures are means for subordinating the husband-wife relationship and enhancing the father-son relationship. In West Town we see an outright superiority of men over women. Not only are husbands above their wives, but brothers are also superior to their sisters. This inequality is implied in the life of the people and clearly stated and recognized by both sexes without reserve or hesitation (Hsu, 1949:241).

The low position of women in China is due to a combination of several economic and ideological factors. . . The traditional Chinese philosophy provided a theory of women's inferiority that was an ideological justification of her lower status in the society of imperial times, and helped to perpetuate it. . . Buddhism, in which woman is the personification of all evil, added new ideological propositions to the idea of woman's inferiority. For twenty-two centuries, hundreds of male and female Confucian writers wrote scores of books on the position of women and their role in family and society, and devised practical rules for their

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114 education and conduct. With slight variations all these books presented the same teachings. Obedience, timidity, reticence, and adaptability were the main virtures of women. Three rules of obedience to man shape a woman's life, "An unmarried girl should obey her father and elder brother, a married woman--her husband, a widow--her son." . . . The legal status of a woman was inferior to that of her husband. . . Chinese women had practically no property rights. . . It is not surprising that girls were the main, if not exclusive, victims of infanticide, which was practiced in the poor families of China from time immemorial (Lang, 1946:42-6).

A woman's social position in ancient China was even more deplorable [than her legal position]. Politically, she was a mere nonentity but socially, she was an inferior species of mankind--a human chattel, slave of men's caprices. Being considered inferior to men, she was regarded with indifference, if not with studied contempt, not only by the men but also by her own kind. Her birth was an unimportant event and even the name that was given her by her father at the time of her birth was not supposed to be known beyond the family threshold, and the education she received, or was entitled to receive, was negligible; for it was deemed improper for women to possess too much knowledge. . . The so called "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," which have shackled the Chinese women for thousands of years, derive their origin from the belief in the superiority of men over women and from the attempt of the ancient moralists to hold women in lifelong subjection. By means of the three obediences a woman is constrained to obey the paterfamilias at home, to render obedience to her husband after marriage and to be obedient to her eldest son after the death of her husband. By means of the four virtues a woman is made to preserve her feminine qualities, to be gentle in disposition and pleasing in appearance, to be chary of speech, and to be assiduous in the performance of her domestic duties (Chiu, 1966:18-20).

An easily-provided larger listing of many more examples by other equally renowned authors with similar viewpoints and arguments would only provide quantitative rather than

114 qualitative changes for I feel the above sample is repre-
• 562 sentative of a wide body of literature. The above authors are drawn from such fields as anthropology, history, religion, sociology, law, and philosophy and are members of such nationality groups as French, English, Chinese, Russian, and American. In each case the cited item was written after extensive field work in Chinese society or by a sinologist who has extensive familiarity with Chinese sources.

In spite of the fact that lengthy segments were used in order to preserve the author's intent, in all fairness to the cited individuals, it should be made patent that several did list exceptions to the dominant patterns. For example, although stressing that such women were exceptions, Herbert does state that China has had many female priests (1956:223), empresses (1965:225), and poets (1965:227). In a chapter solely devoted to what he describes as the degraded situation of women, Smith (1899:258-311) scatters about contra-indications such as in his discussion of noisy women and their "hen-pecked" husbands (1899:304-5). The anthropological accounts in particular appear much more sophisticated in this regard with a greater recognition of actual variation and a lesser emphasis on the ideal patterns.

In summary, China is usually described as patrilocal, patrilineal, and patriarchal. Females were always inferior to men and at birth, boys were desirable and appreciated

while girls were a sorrow. The practices of infanticide and 114
the sale of children as servants or prostitutes usually in- 562
volved only females and rarely, males. The arranged marriage was especially hard for a female because she lacked freedom of choice and her residence changed to a home in which she was a virtual stranger with little status, under the control of her husband's family, with her husband never permitted to champion her cause or show any public affection. Her essence was yin, acquiescent, passive, and dark as opposed to the male essence, yang, active masterful, and bright. All her life, a female was expected to be subordinate to males, in turn father, husband, and son. She was expected to be uneducated, obedient, submissive, untalented, economically useless,[1] unprotesting, subordinate, timid, reticent, and passive.

The Contrasting Position of Women in Sanlei Ts'un

The position of women in Sanlei Ts'un bears little 121
resemblance to the patterns delineated immediately above 562
which were abstracted from the traditional literature. This discrepancy might be explained on the basis it is due to the fact that the patterns presented in the traditional literature were inaccurate, Sanlei is deviant, or that social and cultural changes have been so great that the patterns which were accurate for an earlier period in history are no longer relevant. A few examples are listed below to illustrate that the first hypothesis (traditional patterns are

121 inaccurate) is true; although change is endemic, the data in
• 562 Sanlei is consistent with concrete data in the traditional literature in spite of the many converse generalizations.

562 It is supposedly a Chinese value that women in tra-
871 ditional China should not be educated (Fairbank, 1958:30; C. K. Yang, 1959:111; Chiu, 1966:19). Currently, education in Sanlei village is compulsory for a full six years for boys and girls alike. One of the three junior high school graduations ever achieved by Sanlei residents is a female. Even eighty years ago, two of the fifteen village children [212] in school were girls. One of the original female settlers was semi-literate and was said to possess a fine form for [178] characters.[2] Although change to near equality of educational opportunity has occurred (See Chapter VIII), it was not from an initial position of total denial of education for females. Rather, females went from a minority position in education to one of near equality with males.

We are unable to fully assess the nature of Sanlei villagers' attitudes towards the education of women in the [582] past but we can attempt an educated guess. Today for instance, although it is felt that education is more important for males, any man who goes beyond elementary school should [581] not marry an illiterate woman. This belief is related to the general proposition advanced in the section on marriage (Chapter VIII) that spouses should not be extremely different from each other in any major attribute[3] such as

562 popularity, beauty, intelligence, wealth, etc. This proposi-
871 tion was also strong in the past but we cannot be sure if
[391] education at that time was one of the qualities designated for minimal disparity.

562 We do have evidence from history and literature that
871 among the wealthier classes in society, there were many edu-
174 cated females. Indeed, Herbert points out that "in the
212 Great Chinese Encyclopedia, out of 1628 volumes, 376 are de-
[565] voted to famous women." Seven deal with "the literary productions of women" (1965:227). This kind of evidence is only partially supportive because the relationship between the patterns of the Great Tradition of the wealthier classes and the Little Tradition of the village is only problematical.

It is granted that there is still a disparity between rates of literacy among men and women although the percentage of literacy historically was low for both. In a survey conducted in North China in 1930 among 400 farm families, Gamble found that the literacy rate of 25% among men age 41 to 50 was more than 30 times as high as the rate among women in the same age bracket. These figures, suggesting an educational system operating between 1890 and 1900,[4] clearly indicate discrimination but do not suggest total
562 denial of educational opportunities for females. The dif-
871 ferences in rates may well merely reflect the uses to which
182 education could be put. Education was expensive in terms

562 of the cost of tutoring and in the loss of the labor units
891 for food-getting pursuits contributing to family sustenance.
192 A major goal of education was for the student to pass the civil service examination and thereby acquire a government position. Since the examinations and government positions were both denied to females, there was correspondingly little material advantages to be achieved by educating girls. In spite of this lack of any opportunity to achieve economic returns from an investment in the education of a female, the figures furnished by Gamble do show many literate women. Perhaps the point may best be illustrated by analogy. There are three Michigan schools which teach adults how to drive large highway trucks. Although none of the three discriminate against women, there are few female enrollees or graduates (two of about 350 in 1968) because of the extremely limited job opportunities for female drivers.

562 Another area of discrepancy between traditional lit-
593 erature and actual life revolves around the assignment of superordination to male and subordination to female statuses. There are strong statements in the literature that a female is always subordinate to a male. At various stages in her life cycle, she is subordinate to father, then to husband, and eventually to son (Fairbank, 1958:30; Smith, 1899:305; C. K. Yang, 1959b:106-11; Hsu, 1947:241; Lang, 1946:42-46). These three levels of relationship are each discussed below.

• 362 593 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were expected [861] to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child who threw a temper tantrum [584] was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain at home [434]. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male or female [882]. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during

562 593 the stage of extreme dependence, while the boy is a baby, the mother has absolute control and even later, during early childhood, nearly absolute control. but the traditional literature does not seem to take cognizance of this social fact. Moreover, elements of the behavior pattern established between a son and his mother are likely to persist after the son reaches maturity as social scientists have established in the study of socialization and habituation. This latter fact probably has value in explaining the lesser amounts of conflict found in a patrilocal as opposed to a matrilocal household which was discussed in the explanation of the postulates introduced in Chapter V.

114 562 593 [561] [888] Another element related to the above argument is found in the requirement that the young must show respect for the aged. The traditional literature frequently includes statements about the respect due from females to males and from young to aged in the same paragraph and even in the same sentence (Chiu, 1966:17; Fairbank, 1962:31) without ever confronting or considering the obvious fact that these two requirements are necessarily in conflict in the relationship between a son and his mother. A simple exercise in logic should make this clear but similar neglect of aspects of logic abounds in the literature.

[606] For a third example of this failure to follow through, note that after much discussion about the lowly status of women in one section of an article or chapter of

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a book, there will be a discussion of the stage of life in which a Chinese woman comes into her own with high status, i.e., when she is a mother-in-law with daughters-in-law to supervise and a home to manage (Smith, 1899:277; Fairbank, 1962:31). There is an implied assumption, occasionally made explicit, that a woman often possesses great power and authority in the domestic sphere in spite of the fact her husband may have sole control of external relations between the household and the outside world. Once more the obscurification is continued in that the discussion focuses on the relationships between the females within the home and neglects the relationships between the older woman and her husband and married son. For example, in an outstanding work which stresses various relationships within the family, Lang (1946) devotes a special section to each of the following roles or role relationships: Father and Son (26-9), Mother and Son (29-30), Father-Daughter (30), Daughter-in-law (47-8), Wife (48-50), Mother (52), Widow (52-3), Old Man and his Married Son (229-31), Old Woman and her Married Son (231-2), and Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law (232-7). The only one of these categories which might suggest the relationship between a woman and her husband and son as compared with her daughter-in-law in the same household is the category, Old Woman and Her Son (231-2) but the topic is neglected in this section and nowhere in the book does Lang really confront the dynamics of this issue in a single household.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Assume an old woman does have the power in the domestic sphere which is implied in the literature and explicitly described for Sanlei Ts'un. Also consider our more recent awareness that the vast majority of Chinese households contain only nuclear families. The combination of these two factors makes it likely that some of the women's authority must be over men. There is no question about the fact that Sanlei has many domineering women and I have met many in Taipei. The traditional literacure always describes some domineering women but terms them exceptions (Smith, 1899: 304; Fairbank, 1958:31).

Some of the literature explicitly suggests the duties of a male towards his mother in which her superiority is implicit. Confucius discussed the responsibility of a child towards both of his parents. He is said to have taught in the Hsiao Ching:

> In serving his parents a filial son renders utmost respect to them while at home; he supports them with joy; he gives them tender care in sickness; he grieves at their death; he sacrifices to them with solemnity. If he has measured up to these five, then he is truly capable of serving his parents. . . When parents are alive, to serve them with love and reverence; when deceased, to cherish their memory with deep grief--this is the sum total of man's fundamental duty, the fulfillment of the mutual relations between the living and the dead, the accomplishment of the filial son's service of his parents (Kublin, 1968:42-3).

Many generations of Chinese children were raised on "The Twenty-Four Examples of Filial Piety," short stories which serve as models for proper life, each emphasizing the duties of children to parents by example. In one story,

114 Kuo Chu, burdened with a wife, child, and mother to sup-
• 562 port in hard times with little prospects, sets out to bury
593 his child alive so that the child's food can be given to the old mother. In digging the grave, a pot of gold is discovered and the moral of course, is that proper filial behavior will be rewarded. The great Chinese novels constantly illustrate the same general theme. In All Men Are Brothers, a victim speaks of his old mother rather than of his wife or children in order to evoke an expression of compassion or mercy from the robber.

562 However, the most important relationship under con-
593 sideration in this section is between husband and wife, one in which the wife is supposed to be thoroughly dominated by her husband. Most, but not all, brides in Sanlei Ts'un have little to say and are clearly dominated by their husbands and perhaps a mother-in-law if one is present in the household. By the time a woman reaches age 30 in Sanlei, she usually has considerable power in her own home. Women take major responsibility for raising children and play a considerable part in structuring the day's activities, plan the menus, do most of the shopping, and in many houses, control the budget or substantial portions of it. Not a few women are completely dominant in relationship to their husbands.

Almost everyone pays lip service to the myth that men are fully superior to women and concrete social action

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593 also serves to maintain the pretense. A casual observer may easily be fooled for in many cases, it appears that the villagers are actually fooling themselves. There is no common kinship term that a man can use to address his wife. Until the children are born, permitting teknonymy through them, a man avoids using any term at all other than the equivalent of "hey you." However, the wife can both address and refer to her husband as "Lord and Master." While the idea of subordination-superordination is conveyed by the term, it may be used by a domineering wife as part of an order to her husband to perform some task. To illustrate, Liao Wei-yu (one of the men in the six-family compound described in Chapter V), his cousin Liao Wei-I, and I spent about four hours one afternoon sitting in his courtyard trying to repair a tea presser. During the first three hours, his wife sent Wei-yu on several errands such as fetching water, bringing wood to the kitchen, putting up a bamboo pole for drying clothes, etc., each time ordering the task in an imperious tone although the command was prefaced by the usual "Lord and Master." Wei-yu complained to us, softly so his wife would not hear, that to refuse her requests would only cause trouble. After about three hours, the li secretary stopped by to review some tax record changes with Wei-yu, a village lin chang (neighborhood leader). Because the secretary is an important official, the four of us went into the kung t'ing and sat around the table while Wei-yu ordered

562 593 his wife to serve tea. She quickly complied, brewing a fresh pot and poured the tea into our cups, eyes downcast and meek. She came back a couple of ti[redacted] ask if her "Lord and Master" desired more tea. Immediately after the secretary left, while we were still sitting around the table finishing a cigarette before returning to the courtyard to finish the job, the "Lord and Master" was sent by his wife to immediately fetch two buckets of water from the river. For the outsider (the secretary), Liao Wei-yu is the master of his house; among his intimates and neighbors, everyone knows his wife is the boss.

121 542 Questions by an anthropologist will evoke all kinds of statements about the superiority of men and their authority over women. However, if material is carefully elicited and logically analyzed, a different picture is likely to emerge. For example, achieved status with a strong tendency for it to focus on the family unit rather than on the individual is extremely important in Sanlei as it is in most of 562 China. In any discussion about the manner by which a family 577 achieves prosperity or success, much of the material will 593 relate to the importance of women. It is believed that a woman can make a man work hard and it is her thriftiness which allows a family to accumulate money and achieve pros- 581 perity. A man will brag about his wife's ability to save money and a woman's potentiality for thriftiness is an important attribute to be considered in selecting a bride.

562 The belief about the importance of a woman's ability to save
577 necessarily means she has some power or control over the
593 family budget and implies she also has the power to be extravagant. Every story of financial success in the area save one[5] included a hard-working man and a hard-working and thrifty woman in the cast of characters.

562 There was a corresponding belief that in bargaining,
437 a woman could always obtain the lower price which may have been part of a self-fulfilling prophecy for everyone believed it. Shopkeepers claimed that they asked the same high price for certain items regardless of sex but they had two underlying basic acceptance prices, the lower one for women. Men claimed women were better bargainers because they had little fear of shaming themselves, i.e., they had little "face" to protect.

562 This concept of prevention of shame contributed to
593 the difficulty of obtaining accurate data about money management. In spite of the emphasis on women's thriftiness, men want to be known as the budget managers. However, on several occasions while we were sitting around chatting in an evening, a group of us decided to go down the road for a glass of beer or wine. About half of the men had to go home to get money from their wives first, even some of the men who claimed complete financial control.

As previously explained, it is felt that a good wife in Sanlei will be thrifty and will drive her husband to

562 work hard. Indeed, this role activity is considered neces-
593 sary for the family to achieve success. It appears to me that the majority of Chinese husbands that I met were henpecked, some obviously but others, less obviously. That is, it has been explained that a woman makes her husband do things but also praises his status as a man who is the "lord and master" for all the world to see. This is not the only report of the nature of family life in China which
114 finds many henpecked husbands. Hu Shih, for example,
562 strongly denies that the woman's position in the family has
593 in actual fact been nearly as low as commonly believed:

> The position of women in the old family was never so low as many superficial observers have led us to believe. On the contrary, woman has always been the despot of the family . . . No other country can compete with China for the distinction of being a nation of hen-pecked husbands (1934:104-5).

D. J. Lee, a popular columnist for the China News, a Taiwan daily English-language newspaper, wrote that:

> In no country in the world does one hear so many stories of henpecked husbands as in China. . . No husband can be henpecked unless the wife is the supreme ruler of the house. . . It is also the traditional belief of the Chinese that being henpecked is a virtue, because henpecked husbands are destined to be more successful in the world. After all, as far as the husbands are concerned, a wife is only a person who has the best interest of her husband at heart. The truth is that the Chinese are proud of being henpecked even if they are reluctant to admit it (1967).

562 Let me repeat two of the innumerable stories of henpecked
593 husbands but with the understanding that humor suffers in
522 translation from one culture to another. Both of these

562 593 522 stories are considered extremely funny by the men and women alike in Sanlei village:

> A club for henpecked husbands was having a meeting one day. The wives of the members of the club got wind of it. Armed with brooms, clubs, sticks and things, they marched to the club to have it out with their husbands. Having been warned ahead of time, the husbands took to their heels and made good their escape. When the wives arrived, they found only the chairman had the courage to remain where he was. But when they took a good look at him, they found he was dead.
>
> In an attempt to determine how many of the officials in his palace were henpecked, the Chinese Emperor summoned every married man in his palace to his presence. He ordered those who were henpecked to stand on the right side of the room and those who were not henpecked to stand on the left side of the room. Before long, the Emperor saw that they were all standing on the right side of the room with two exceptions--one man chose the center and one man chose the left side.
>
> "What made you choose the center?" the emperor demanded of the man who was neither on the left nor right side.
>
> "Your Majesty, I didn't know which wife you meant," was his reply.
>
> The Emperor then turned to the man on the left, "Do you mean to tell me that you are the only man in my entire court that is not henpecked?"
>
> "No sir," he replied. "When I was leaving my house this morning, my wife warned me not to go along with the crowd!"

562 593 591 The above discussion of many domineering wives and henpecked husbands is largely based on an assumption (all houses are patrilocal and supposedly patriarchal) that makes it extremely difficult to argue convincingly. The assumption is simply not true. As we have seen for Sanlei and for other places wherever reasonably complete data are provided, there are significant deviations from this pattern. Many households were neolocal and a considerable

562 [591] [595] number were matrilocal (see Chapter V). Moreover, many households have officially registered female heads. W. 562 592 Gamble points out that while "some authorities say that a woman is never recognized as the head of a family," he found that four per cent of the official heads among 5,225 families surveyed in 1930 in North China were females (1954: 28).

Whenever concrete data are provided in place of the more frequent set of summaries or abstractions, the same picture of numerous exceptions emerges. Too often, the exceptions have been simply dismissed, even when the exceptions are more numerous than the ideal dominant pattern.

The numerous exceptions to the normal patrilocal male-headed households found in any Chinese village provided alternative models for the behavior of women living in the traditionally structured households. If all women were living in the same kind of structural situation, there would likely be but few major role patterns. In fact, in Sanlei, there were women who were heads of households (with and without living husbands), women living in extended families, nuclear families, and stem families, etc. Since women's work groups are quite intimate and living conditions are such that no one has much privacy, everyone is soon aware of the content of each other's role relationships.

562 Outside the household, women are undoubtedly inferior to men in Sanlei Ts'un and probably in most of China as

562 well as illustrated by the fact that they have no "face" to protect and that only men were admitted to the traditional examination system. There are many notable exceptions however. Many women hold high political offices in Taiwan today and throughout history, there have been periodic Chinese empresses as rulers of the kingdom and more often, females existing as powers behind the throne, engaging in palace intrigues and influencing men.[7] To my knowledge, only one period in Chinese history prior to the present was witness to significant efforts to establish the equality of women to men. During the Taiping rebellion, the rebels claimed that:

> Women, like men, . . . could take the state examinations and could hold civil or military offices; there were special female contingents in the Taiping army. Foot binding, so common among the higher classes since the twelfth century, was strictly forbidden, as was prostitution; white slavery and rape was punished by death. Monogamy was obligatory; women and girls who did not have the protection of male family members were particularly taken care of (Franke, 1958:47-64).

Both the Nationalists in Taiwan and the Communists on the Mainland, following the lead advocated by Sun Yat-sen, are promoting the establishment of the equality of women.

562 M6 As we have seen, there are several females numbered among the most important dieties in the Chinese pantheon of gods. It appears that currently, two of the most important gods in Taiwan are females, Kuan Yin and Ma Tzu. The degree of emphasis on female gods in China is revealed by the fact that Kuan Yin is the Chinese name for the male Indian god

[7] [This should be footnote 6--Analyst]

562 Avalokitesvara who "hears the complaints of mankind" (Eich-
776 orn, 1964:192). Although originally male, in about the eleventh century in China, Avalokitesvara becomes a female divinity who is the embodiment of beneficence (Eichorn, 1964:192).

562 In the practice of religion, although the majority
771 of religious functionaries are men, there have always been a number of temples and monasteries staffed entirely by women. In Sanlei, as in most other Chinese villages, women actually perform much of the ritual activities in spite of the value which specifies that they should be performed by men, especially the required ritual. One merely has to observe celebrants in any Chinese temple a few hours to find that a majority of the worshippers tend to be women.

Some writers have claimed that Confucius and Confucian doctrines are responsible for the lack of esteem in which Chinese women are regarded and the comparatively low position they are said to have in society (Smith, 1899: 305-6; Lang, 1946:42-6; Straelen, 1936:43) but the evidence is not certain. O'Hara, for example, cites a great body of Confucian teachings supporting the opposite position (1955; 1963). For example, O'Hara cites the stories of Confucius and his relationships with women (1955:163-4) in which he acceded to their wisdom. Confucius also taught that wives and favorite concubines were responsible for ruling the inner apartments and encouraging men to behave properly (1963: 79-80).

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There is some suggestion in the literature that the woman's status has been recently elevated only by her economic contributions to the family. This contention has been most strongly expressed in some of the Japanese material (Koyama, 1959). It should be realized that the traditional literature clearly indicates that rural girls and women have always worked hard and made valuable contributions, especially in the majority of the Chinese households which were poor. The two facts of the importance of economic contributions in elevating status and the large numbers of contributing working women, although juxtaposed in the literature, are rarely logically confronted with each other. That is, no one seems to consider the logical implications of the two sets of beliefs. This is not unlike the many other examples of this inconsistent behavior we have demonstrated. The number of women who were economic contributors was always probably high for it appears that about 85% of China's population were peasants living in villages and the majority were fairly poor. There is little concrete data on the extent of female participation in general farm work but it appears to be significant. In addition to these regular contributions to the family farm work, there were agricultural specialties in various parts of China which largely depended upon the labor and contributions of women such as the silk industry described by Fei (1939) and the tea industry discussed in Chapter III. For

562 many centuries, such industries which covered large areas
462 of China meant that women's work constituted valuable addi-
178 tions to the farm family income. Tawney (1932:117-149) discusses the significance of female labor in cottage industry and in small factories but provides no percentage of male to female contributions. If the recent argument that the contributions of females served to elevate their status is true, then the status was elevated long ago.

121 As stated in the beginning of this dissertation,
562 because the official historical record from the past contains few facts about the peasant or the nature of rural life, we are forced to make many assumptions and guesses. One kind of clue may derive from fiction for the fiction which tends to endure in any society usually embodies the ethos and values of the society. An analysis of the part females play in most of the classical stories reveals roles usually quite unlike the traditional normative standards abstracted from the Great Tradition but very similar to what we have described for Sanlei. It is argued that the ideal normative standards of the Great Tradition for women in China are not in accord with the facts on the actual level for both Great and Little Traditions nor on the ideal level for the Little Tradition, i.e., peasant men seem to prefer a wife to be somewhat thrifty and domineering so they can achieve success.

There is a phrase in Shakespeare which seems appropriate, "Methinks he doth protest too much." It is

121 considered axiomatic in anthropology that there will be cul-
• 562 tural elaboration around items and problems which are considered important in the society. These items are subject to fads and fashions, that is, they may change with time. For example, pollution is recognized as a major problem today in the United States and one finds an enormous amount of material discussing it although twenty years previously, there was little material in spite of the fact pollution levels were nearly identical. The very great quantity of literature in China, most of it written by men, encompassing extended periods of time, devoted to the lowly position of women, describing their proper relationships to men, setting forth a multitude of laws to insure proper behavior, etc., may well be because women simply refused to behave as men demanded. In other words, there is so much literature on the ideal level because the behavior of women on the actual level so rarely conformed.

In addition to the above, there appears to be a frequent failure to come to grips with conflicting statements in a single account with the goal of resolving them. This failure may be related to the segmental personality, the situation-centered phenomena described by Hsu (1953; 1963) which I considered in Chapter VII. Several examples have been presented in this section but to emphasize the point, one more will be considered in some detail.

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With regard to divorce, Ch'ing law states that a man can divorce a woman for seven reasons which are known as the Ch'i Ch'u or Seven Ousts: (1) Failure to serve the husband's parents and disobedience to them. (2) Failure to give birth to a son. (3) Dissoluteness of manners. (4) Jealousy. (5) Malignant disease. (6) Loquacity. (7) Larceny (Chui, 1966:61-8). Adultery is not listed here but was also a compelling reason for divorce. However, in the same law may be found the San Pu Ch'u or Three Non-Ousts, reasons why a wife cannot be divorced by her husband except on the grounds of adultery: (1) Mourned her husband's parents for three years. (2) Husband's poor family became rich after marriage. (3) She has no home to return to (Chiu, 1966:69-71). Chiu makes the point repeatedly that according to the law, men have "an exclusive right of divorce in ancient China" (1966:58). Even in divorce by mutual consent, traditionally permitted in China, the divorce is "effected in the name of the husband" (1966:60). Other scholars consistently agree, i.e., "divorce became exclusively the man's privilege and was practically equivalent to repudiation of the wife by the husband" (Lang, 1946:40).

However, a careful reading of Ch'ing law together with analysis of a sample of court decisions, does not support the above argument. All of the above facts are true but important omissions were made. The usual presentation implies the husband had the power to divorce his wife on the

562 586 671 grounds of any of the Ch'i Ch'u unless she possessed a San Pu Ch'u. Additional laws clearly point out that not all such divorces were optional, i.e., divorce was sometimes mandatory. For example, one law states, "He who fails to divorce a wife who has committed a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship, shall be subject to 80 strokes" (Chiu, 1966:95). In other words, if a woman violated one of the Ch'i Ch'u and her husband refused to divorce her, he would be punished by receiving 80 lashes. A wife who wanted a divorce could misbehave, accuse her husband of failure to divorce, and effectually cause him to be punished with 80 lashes. This could be repeated until the divorce was received. In other words, a wife did have the means to obtain a divorce but it was not as easy for her to initiate a divorce action as it was for her husband and the process also required her personal misbehavior. Both Chiu (1966:96) and Alabaster (1899:183) cite examples of mandatory divorces due to women's actions and Barclay (1954:210-37) suggests divorce was often initiated by females.

114 562 586 671 Most authors have ignored the above mandatory aspect of traditional Chinese divorce law. When a few have considered it, the seemingly overwhelming insistence on the primacy of male perogatives results in an illogical or incomplete account. Lang for example notes three kinds of divorce including "divorce by the compulsion of the authorities" in one section (1946:40) but denies it in another

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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section (1946:44), "Divorce, as already stated was entirely a man's privilege." But let me illustrate in greater depth with an extensive quotation from an otherwise scholarly account by a distinguished Chinese jurist and educator, Dr. Vermier Y. Chiu, Ph.D., D.C.L., Ll.B., M.A., Ph.B.:

> . . . the compulsory clause in the Ch'ing law of divorce, which makes it obligatory on the husband to divorce his wife when the latter is guilty of an offence involving a breach of the marital relationship which by law requires a divorce on pain of receiving 80 strokes on the buttocks if he fails to send her away, is both obnoxious and absurd. Whatever its motive might have been--such as, for instance, a desire to adhere to the doctrine of the "Three Obediences and Four Virtues of Women," to preserve the unity of the clan and to maintain the harmony of the family--the clause referred to is fraught with misgivings. In the first place, it is inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce, and in fact it interferes with his discretionary power of exercising or not exercising that right. Secondly, if the husband is magnanimous and has forgiven his wife who has been guilty of a crime involving a breach of the marital relationship--such as adultery, for instance, which is considered an unforgivable offence tending to disrupt the unity of the clan, disturb the harmony of the family and bring disrepute upon the husband--it will be highly ridiculous for the law to interfere and punish him for his magnanimity and his readiness to forgive, both of which are virtues respected by every Chinese. Besides, the clause in question is likely to encounter difficulties in enforcement because any deliberate act tending to alienate the affection of husband and wife is deemed an iniquity in China and magistrates are not, in conscience, too ready to take the responsibility upon themselves to forcibly sever husband and wife who are determined not to be separated.

Dr. Chiu recognizes that the law is "inconsistent with the husband's exclusive right of divorce." However, instead of logically concluding that this necessarily means man does not have an exclusive right to divorce, he calls the law

562 586 671 "obnoxious and absurd" and "fraught with misgivings" which it may well be but this is irrelevant to the fact of exclusiveness. As is quite clear from the facts, man does not have exclusive rights to divorce in China and as far as I am able to determine, he never did have exclusive rights but since acknowledgement of other than complete right of males to divorce would be inconsistent with the theme of the Great Tradition which emphasizes the male perogatives, it is nearly impossible for the scholar to either confront or overcome the exceptions. Instead, there will be a tendency previously discussed in conjunction with cognitive dissonance theory to either "deny the facts which are not in agreement with the previous knowledge" as is illustrated immediately above in the example of Chiu or to ignore the contrary evidence entirely as in Lang's discussion of divorce (1946).

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research

121 562 The Great Tradition of China maintains that the social position of women is extremely low when compared to the social position of men. I have demonstrated by means of a case study of a contemporary Chinese community on Taiwan that women do have a lower status than men but that the differences are not as great as would be expected from a cursory examination of the literature and moreover, that many women play roles simply not permitted by the supposed value system, i.e., household head, political official, postmaster,

121 school board official, etc. It is further demonstrated
•562 that although changes leading to increased status for women
[178] are in process, even at the time when the village was originally established, women were playing roles similar to those found today, i.e., the changes are quantitative rather than qualitative in most respects. In summary, Sanlei Ts'un is not congruent with the patterns portrayed in the traditional literature.

121 As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, this
184 deviancy from traditional patterns might be explained on
562 the basis that Sanlei was not like most Chinese communities. In order to refute these possibilities, Sanlei was tested for its degree of uniqueness by comparing it with other Chinese communities in space and time. Women's labor was found to be important in most rural Chinese communities and special tasks in cottage or factory industries or in connection with certain crops such as tea or silk were commonly assigned to women in many other communities. In any major attribute such as the value of labor contribution, family size, practice of religion, etc., Sanlei did not appear to be unique. That is, the village was a unique combination but the general patterns were found in many other villages whether separated by time or by space. Rates of some items varied (when provided) but such practices as adopted-in husbands, neolocal residence, girls fleeing to the city for work, etc., were found everywhere. Sanlei did not seem

121 sufficiently different from other Chinese villages to sup-
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562 port any claim that the research results were not reasonably applicable to an understanding of women's roles for much of China.

121 Therefore, an assumption was made that the null
562 hypothesis, i.e., the nature of women's roles discovered in Sanlei were accurate and that the Great Tradition was wrong was confirmed. Anthropological ethnographies and traditional accounts were re-examined in minute detail for supporting and refuting evidence. Only rarely did any generalized statement or summary support the assumption (Hu Shih, 1934:104-5), but there were multitudes of concrete facts which were highly supportive of the assumption. Indeed, it appeared that the more carefully collected the data and the more detailed and concrete the presentation, the greater the support for my description of the role of
114 women in Chinese society. Whenever an author included both
121 good data and summaries pertaining to women's roles, the
562 two were often in disagreement as previously demonstrated. However, in most cases, material which would bear directly on the problem focus of the paper were simply omitted.

For example, in an excellent detailed Chinese ethnography of a single rural village, Fei discusses some of the relationships with the chia, particularly in reference to parents and children (1939:34-8) and daughter-in-law to mother-in-law (1939:45-50). He discusses marriage

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562 (1939:40-45) but has little material on authority patterns between husbands and wives. In the discussion of the daughter-in-law, Fei stresses her relationship with her mother-in-law and completely ignores the role of the father-in-law in the home and only briefly discusses the combined role of son-husband in such as his duty to support his mother in a conflict between the two women in the household and his occasional failure to fulfill this obligation (1939:49). Although Fei claims "the mother-in-law represents authority," this summary interpretation is not extended to the whole complex of roles found in the household but only to the daughter-in-law. Interestingly, he does provide a typology of the 359 families in the village (1939:29) and it appears that there are only 12 which certainly have a mother-in-law daughter-in-law relationship in the home and 138 more which might have, i.e., only 12 households (3.3%) are fully extended and 128 households (38.4%) have a married couple plus extended relatives, some of whom may be mothers-in-law. In other words, he omits consideration of the most common patterns of authority relationships to be found in the home and concentrates on the role of the mother-in-law dominating her daughter-in-law although this pattern must be a minority pattern in village households. Consideration of the omitted material might support the ideals of the Great Tradition, i.e., male dominance, but I suspect women in Kaihsienkung are or were actually playing roles similar to those reported in Sanlei.

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562 Now that the particular problem of conflicting interpretations of the nature of female roles in Chinese society has been identified, future field research hopefully will settle the issue. As more scholars focus on the role of women,[91] both in current field research and reconsideration of previous data, I am sure that my delineation of the nature of women's roles will be confirmed.

121 There is a larger problem of which this whole case is merely an example, how did such errors of interpretation occur and what can be done to prevent similar errors in the future? The mechanism leading to misinterpretation was suggested in the introductory chapter and is briefly reviewed below:

1. Every civilization has a Great Tradition expressed in a literary record which sets forth the society's "ideal" value system.

2. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture delineated in the Great Tradition.

3. As explained by means of cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome a belief once it is internalized, i.e., evidence which is contrary to existing knowledge will be denied.

4. Therefore, it is likely that both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "experts" in the culture will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

In addition to the above, there is a kind of style in anthropological research which contributes to the problem: an emphasis on social organization and social structure. There has been an attempt to find and describe that which persists

[91] [This should be footnote 8--Analyst]